FBIS DAILY REPORT

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ATA DISSEMINATES ENVER HOXHA'S OBITUARY

LD111917 Tirana ATA in English 1740 GMT 11 Apr 85

["Enver Hoxha" -- ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, April 11 (ATA) -- Comrade Enver Hoxha was born on October 16, 1908 in Gjirokaster. The early years of his life coincided with a very critical period for the country when foreign invaders, who followed in succession, burnt and laid waste whole districts, committed mass murders of the population and spread misery everywhere. Life taught him to hate the enemies of the country and, although still young, to join the 1924 democratic movement.

At the Korca Lyceum, from which he graduated in 1930, Enver Hoxha experienced for the first time the brutality of the Zogite authorities and their jail for having organized with his comrades a rally of protest against thefts perpetrated at the expense of the students.

He went to France to pursue his higher studies. His pronounced democratic propensities made Enver Hoxha a sympathizer of the French Communist movement. In Paris he established connections with the editorial board of L'HUMANITE, organ of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, to which he contributed materials denouncing Zog's regime in Albania.

When his scholarship was discontinued, Enver Hoxha was obliged to go to Belgium where he worked for a period at the Albanian Consulate in Brussels and continued his studies at the same time. But Zog's agents abroad detected his anti-Zog activity. He was dismissed from his job and was obliged to return to Albania in 1936.

By this time, Enver Hoxha had become a Communist and, as such, devoted himself to the struggle to liberate the people. The oath he took in 1936 at the grave of patriot Bajo Topulli in Gjirokaster that he and all the youth would fight for "a better Albania", for "the welfare of the country", for "the real unification of the nation", was a program of action for him.

Enver Hoxha began his revolutionary activity in his home country as a teacher first at the Tirana Gymnasium and then at the Korca Lyceum. He joined the Korca Communist group and became one of its most active members. He made skillful use of the school platform in order to impart democratic and communist ideas to the students. He became also one of the principal educators of the "Rinia Korcare" (Korca Youth) out-of-school organization and an indefatigable militant for the unity of the Albanian Communist movement.

On the eve of the fascist occupation Enver Hoxha together with the other comrades of the group, worked with might and main to organize popular resistance. He kept up these efforts also after the invasion of the country. His revolutionary activity brought him under the eye of the fascist invaders and they dismissed him from his job as an "anti-regime element". The leadership of the Korca Communist group decided to send him to Tirana, charging him with the task of extending the activity of the group on a sound basis, by organizing the anti-fascist movement in the capital and other districts of the country.

Appreciating the determination of the rank and file of the Communist groups to fight against fascism and their ardent desire for the union of the Communist movement and the founding of a Community Party, Enver Hoxha, carried on with them, patiently and wisely, tireless work of clarification and organization. At the same time he established connections with patriotic nationalists who hated the fascist invaders and were willing to fight against them.

As it was stressed in the announcement of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSRA, the Council of Ministers of the PSRA and the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania on the death of Comrade Enver Hoxha, his "life and deed is the living history of the present Albania". He devoted all his life, all his energies to the great cause of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the revolution, the construction of socialism in our country. Comrade Enver Hoxha embodied the best features of a revolutionary, wise and farsighted leader, of the ardent patriot and consistent internationalist. He applied in a creative way in country the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and as a loyal disciple of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, defended and further developed their ideals in the conditions of the present time and in uncompromising struggle with the renegades to and enemies of communism.

In the dark days of the occupation and savage fascist oppression, Comrade Enver Hoxha, at the head of the genuine Albanian Communists realised the work which would mark the radical turn for the fates of our people and country: they founded the Communist Party of Albania (today the PLA) on November 8, 1941. The Albanian people ensured their loyal leadership which would show them the way of the war for national and social liberation, the brilliant road of socialism.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always pursued a correct revolutionary line. This is due to the fact that Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head of the Central Committee fought and exerted all his energies so that the party be put on sound ideological and organisational Marxist-Leninist bases, be educated and become a genuine proleterian party, a party that would stand all the tests and would carry out honourably its revolutionary task before its people and the world proletariat.

At the head of our party, Comrade Enver Hoxha led the most glorious epogee in the history of the century-long struggles of our people: the antifascist national liberation war, the great popular revolution. According to the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and under his leadership the party realised that great unity of the people round the National Liberation Front, unprecedented as for its strength, cohesion and vitality, whose foundations were laid at the Peza conference on September 16, 1942. The merit and capability of Comrade Enver Hoxha stand in the fact that he knew how to orientate himself rightly in the grave conditions of the foreign occupation and in the international complicated conditions, he knew how to find out the most proper ways for the solution of the fundamental contradictions of the Albanian society of that time, he knew how to choose the internal and external allies and to define correctly the relations with them, to create the political and military organisms, which would make possible the triumph of the war and its line. To Comrade Enver Hoxha belongs the historic merit that our party linked closely the struggle for national liberation with the cause of the overthrow of the old power and the establishment of the people's power and made it a single one. Of the same historical importance is also the creation of the General Staff of the National Liberation Army in Labinot on July 10, 1943, which represented the striking armed force of the people's revolution. Comrade Enver Hoxha charged it with two great missions: to fight for the liberation of the homeland, defend the new peoeple's power. On the command of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the glorious National Liberation Army, with the support of the entire people liberated selfreliantly the country and guaranteed the triumph of the people's democratic order.

44 years ago, the people entrusted the Albanian Communists their fates and the future of the homeland. At the head of the party, Comrade Enver Hoxha justified this faith through his great deed:

The liberation of the country, the triumph of the people's revolution and the creation of Socialist Albania. Illuminated by the Marxist-Leninist teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the party created our new state, whose foundations were laid in the fiery years of the national liberation war, in the first antifascist national liberation congress of Albania held in May 24-28, 1944 in the city of Permet.

The antifascist committee formed in this congress was the first people's democratic government of Albania. The secretary general of the CPA, Enver Hoxha, was named the president of the committee. On October 20-30, 1944 the antifascist National Liberation Council held its second meeting in the city of Berat, in which it was unanimously decided that the antifascist committee be turned into the democratic Government of Albania, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. Advancing on the road indicated by Comrade Enver Hoxha and thanks to the constant care of the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country remains firm, socialist democracy has developed and prospers.

The teaching of Comrade Enver Hoxha has been embodied in the living reality of new Socialist Albania, which is built with titanic efforts by our people. Being at the head of the party Comrade Enver Hoxha worked out and led in practice the historic struggle to introduce Albania on the road of socialism, to realise major economic and social transformations, for the socialist industrialization and collectivization of agriculture, for carrying out a deep-going revolution in the fields of ideology and culture, for the education of the new man of our society. Under the leadership of the Communists and with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head our homeland changed completely its view within a short period of four decades. The Albanian people and Communists dedicate all these victories to Comrade Enver Hoxha, who from the founding of the party till the end of his life was at its head.

The road of the party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head is the road of a glorious and heroic struggle. They have had to overcome many difficulties and obstacles, to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the activity of internal and external enemies, overt and covert, and in the first place against the anti-Albanian aims of Anglo-Americans, the Yugoslav Titoites, Khrushchevite revisionists etc, who have tried to hinder our progress and development, to undermine the revolution and overthrow socialism in Albania. We have always emerged victorious from all these battles due to the political far-sightedness and wisdom, the unwavering stands and Marxist-Leninist orientations of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

He more than anyone else has fought with a great force and determination against the internal enemies of the party, the factionist groups and foreign agents from Koci Xoxe to Mehmet Shehu. This struggle has been salvational for our party, people and homeland.

The general line of the foreign policy and the stands of our party and state on international problems was worked out under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha. With revolutionary pathos, he more than anyone else, has defended the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin from the opportunist distortions at any time and in any situation, he more than anyone else has denounced the social imperialist and socio-chauvinist policy and activity of the Titoites, Khrushchevites, and other renegades. Comrade Enver Hoxha's defence of Marxism-Leninism against Khrushchevite revisionism, the exposure he made of the revisionist platform proclaimed at the 20th Congress of the CP of Soviet Union will remain a brilliant example of ideological clarity, of the revolutionary courage and communist spirit of principle. In the speech he held at the meeting of 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow in November 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha denounced the counterrevolutionary views on the change of the nature of capitalism and imperialism in the "newly-created" conditions, views which were defended by Khrushchev and other revisionists in order to cover up their collaboration with the American imperialism and other reactionaries.

Considering the preservation of world peace as a very important duty, Comrade Enver Hoxha upheld the revolutionary view of the PLA that peace can not be preserved through empty talks with the heads of imperialism, (?cajoling) or making concessions to the American imperialists. Comrade Enver Hoxha criticized Khrushchev's group for its counterrevolutionary stand towards Stalin.

The entire road of our Party of Labour, of our revolution and socialist construction, the internal and foreign policy pursued at every stage of our development according to the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and under his direct leadership, constitute a revolutionary practice with major theoretical and practical values.

This original [word indistinct] is reflected and generalized in a profound scientific way in the theoretical work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, in his numerous writings and in all those important materials of the party that have been worked out under his direction. They represent an allsided colossal work and constitute a valuable contribution to the enrichment and development of the Marxist-Leninist theory.

The life and revolutionary activity of Comrade Enver Hoxha constitute a brilliant example, from which, the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, the whole people learn and are guided in order to devote all their forces to the lofty communist ideals, to the great cause of the party, the revolution and socialism, the defence of the interests of the people and our beloved socialist homeland for which Comrade Enver Hoxha lived, worked and fought during all his life.

SPOKESMAN: NO FOREIGN DELEGATIONS AT FUNERAL

AU112011 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] The funeral of Enver Hoxha, AWP leader, in Tirana on 15 April, will not be attended by any foreign delegation. This was stated this evening by a spokesman of the Albanian Embassy in Paris. He explained that Albanian protocol does not provide for the presence of foreign delegations on such occasions.

TURKEY SEEKS RETURN OF WITNESS TO 'ATROCITIES'

NC121224 Paris AFP in English 1212 GMT 12 Apr 85

[Text] Ankara, April 12 (AFP) -- Turkey today asked Bulgarian diplomats to hand over a "mystery man" who vanished into the Bulgarian Consulate in Istanbul 11 days ago after newspapers here said he could testify about atrocities in Bulgaria against the Turkish minority.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman here said the man whom the Turks call Ali Mehmedov Yusupov and whom the Bulgarians call Alexander Marinov Ulyanov had arrived in Turkey with a travel permit delivered in Austria to foreigners. He was directed to a refugee centre in Istanbul but vanished on April 2 after giving several interviews to journalists, the spokesman said.

He later turned up at the Bulgarian Consulate where he gave a press conference claiming he had been kidnapped in Austria, forcibly brought to Turkey and tortured into making anti-Bulgarian statements to the press.

Turkey has officially complained to Bulgaria about reports that hundreds of ethnic Turks in Bulgaria were killed or injured last year when they resisted a government campaign to get them to change their names to Bulgaria forms.

According to the Bulgarians, who have asked the Turks to hand back his passport, Mr Yusupov, or Ulyanov, wants to return to his family in Bulgaria.

Turkish security men have been posted round the consulate to prevent any attempt to smuggle the man out of Turkey.

The Foreign Ministery spokesman said he could not comment on reports which have quoted the Turkish secret service as saying Yusupov-Ulyanov is a spy.

CONDOLENCES SENT TO ALBANIA ON HOXHA DEATH

AU111828 Sofia BTA in English 1736 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Sofia, April 11 (BTA) -- The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party has sent a telegram to the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, which extends deepest sympathies in connection with the demise of Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour.

"In these days of grief for Albanian Communists and for the Albanian people, Bulgarian Communists and the entire Bulgarian people express their conviction that the relations between the Bulgarian and the Albanian peoples, between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will be promoted in the spirit of the traditional friendship between our two peoples, in the interest of peace and socialism," reads the telegram.

The National Council of the Fatherland Front of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has also cabled most sincere condolences to the General Council of the Democratic Front of the working people of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in connection with the death of Enver Hoxha, president of the General Council of the Democratic Front.

"We are convinced that the relations between our two socialist countries will be developing in the interest of the two brotherly peoples and of the cause of peace and socialism", says the message.

ARGENTINE VICE PRESIDENT MARTINEZ VISITS 3-10 APR

Welcomed by Tanchev

AU031721 Sofia BTA in English 1353 GMT 3 Apr 85

[Text] Sofia, April 3 (BTA) -- Dr Victor Hipolito Martinez, vice-president of Argentina and deputy chairman of the Radical Civic Union Party (U.C.R.), arrived here today at the invitation of Bulgaria's State Council. The guest was welcomed by Mr Petur Tanchev, senior vice president of Bulgaria's State Council and secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, and by other officials.

Speaks at Dinner

AU040920 Sofia BTA in English 0735 GMT 4 Apr 85

[Text] Sofia, April 4 (BTA) -- "The official visit to Bulgaria by Dr Victor Hipolito Martinez, vice president of Argentina and deputy chairman of the Radical Civic Union Party, which starts today at the invitation of the State Council, substantially reaffirms the friendly relations between the two countries and the two friendly peoples". That is what Mr Petur Tanchev, senior vice president of the State Council and secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, said in his toast speech at last night's official dinner for the distinguished guest. He also said that Bulgaria and Argentina promote their relations in the right direction, in their mutual interest. "Bulgaria's political contacts with the Radical Civic Union government are registering an upgrade development. The two countries parliaments also maintain their traditional contacts. Substantial steps forward have been made in the field of economic and techno-scientific cooperation", Mr Petur Tanchev added.

Bulgaria's senior State Council vice president and secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union pointed out that the visit of Dr Victor Hipolito Martinez will contribute materially to the activation of friendly contacts, that it will be a tribute to the common struggle of the peoples for peace, understanding, broad international cooperation and social progress.

Mr Petur Tanchev expressed his satisfaction with the promotion of relations between the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and the Radical Civic Union, which help enhance bilateral contacts as well as rally the world's agrarian, center, liberal and other democratic parties for the sake of strengthened peace.

The speaker voiced his concern over the dangerous world tensions. The state of East-West relations, which is of decisive importance for the international situation, also gives serious grounds for concern, he added. In this connection he drew attention to the activities of the imperialist quarters who have started another round in the arms race and who are trying to spread it into outer space, too. Mr Petur Tanchev reiterated Bulgaria's commitment to the strengthening of world peace and security and expressed hope that the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on the whole range of questions concerning space and nuclear weapons will come to a successful end by reaching their ultimate goal; complete and general elimination of nuclear weapons.

The Bulgarian side commended highly Argentina's independent and non-aligned policy and expressed satisfaction with the New Delhi declaration, co-sponsored by Argentina.

Mr Petur Tanchev also spoke about Bulgaria's Balkan policies, aimed at turning the region into a nuclear-free zone.

In reply the Argentinian vice-president said that despite the existing differences between the two countries, despite the fact that they are quite far one from the other, there are many common goals and common concerns. He noted that the world is facing serious problems: the arms race, insecurity in many world regions, the danger of a nuclear war outbreak as a result of the hostile use of nuclear energy. The guest also drew attention to the population problems of the world, to the problems linked with the underproduction of agricultural goods which need collective efforts to be solved.

Further on he spoke about the underlying principles of Argentina's foreign policy, and he accentuated the non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, the right to self-determination of the peoples. Another emphasis was laid on the need to strengthen international cooperation and security. "That is why Argentina has always backed the efforts of the Contadora Group", Dr Victor Hipolito Martinez stressed.

The Argentinian vice president declared himself for the expansion of state-to-state trade, for cooperation both on a bilateral, and multilateral basis.

The distinguished guest defined Argentinian-Bulgarian relations as very important and expressed hope that his current visit will help their expansion. He spoke about the economic progress being made by Bulgaria, of the impressive successes scored in the field of agriculture.

Received by Zhivkov

AU041515 Sofia BTA in English 1310 GMT 4 Apr 85

[Text] Sofia, April 4 (BTA) -- The Bulgarian state leader Mr. Todor Zhivkov gave a positive assessment to the relations between Bulgaria and Argentina. At today's meeting with Dr. Victor Hipolito Martinez, vice-president of Argentina and deputy chairman of the Radical Civic Unity Party (U.C.R.), who is on an official visit to this country, he stressed that there exist possibilities for deepening bilateral relations and this opinion was supported by the distinguished guest.

The meeting discussed topical issues of the international situation. It paid special attention to the danger which the arms race poses to the very existence of human civilization. The two parties to the talks stressed the necessity for doing all that is possible for averting the escalation of the tension in the world, for the peaceful resolution of the controversial issues between the states and for consolidating trust, security and cooperation. It was pointed out that the most important task today is the struggle against the nuclear threat.

The president of the State Council of Bulgaria acquainted the Argentinian vice-president with the peaceful foreign policy of this country. He commented on the aims which it pursues in the Balkans: The consolidation of goodneighbourly relations and cooperation and the turning of the region into a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

Mr. Petur Tanchev, first vice-president of the State Council of Bulgaria and secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, also took part in the talks.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 4 April adds: "Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, gave a luncheon at the Boyana Residence in honor of Dr Victor Hipolito Martinez, Argentina's vice president. The luncheon was attended by Comrades Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Vasil Tsanov, ministers, and Miguel Angel Espeche, Argentine ambassador to Bulgaria."]

Talks With Mladenov, Khristov

AU042021 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 4 Apr 85

[Text] On 4 April Dr Victor Hipolito Martinez, Argentine vice president, who is visiting Bulgaria, met Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs. During their talk, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, they exchanged information on the foreign policies of Bulgaria and Argentina. Topical issues of international politics were also discussed.

The program of the high-ranking Argentine guest also included a meeting with Kristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade. The state of trade and economic relations was reviewed and it was noted that in recent years these relations are successfully developing. The two sides expressed a readiness to further develop these relations. They noted the possibilities of expanding modern forms of economic cooperation and expanding the two countries' enterprises and companies.

Visits Assembly, Meets Tsanov

AU051417 Sofia BTA in English 1233 GMT 5 Apr 85

[Text] Sofia, April 5 (BTA) -- On the third day of his official visit here Dr Victor Hipolito Martinez, Argentina's vice-president and deputy chairman of the Radical Civic Union Party (U.C.R.) was acquainted with the work of Bulgaria's parliament at a meeting with Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly.

The distinguished guest was briefed on the role of Bulgaria's parliament in the unfolding of democracy in this country, in the construction of the advanced socialist society.

It was stressed during the talk that the activation of contacts between the two countries' parliaments can play an important role in the promotion of mutual cooperation in different fields. Another emphasis was laid on the significance of interparliamentary ties in the struggle for peace and social progress, against the nuclear threat.

Argentina's vice-president also met with Mr Vasil Tsanov, chairman of the Party and Government Council of Agriculture and Forestry. He was familiarized with the development of Bulgarian field farming, with the successes scored in the branches intensification, with the efforts towards the speedy transference of techno-scientific advances in the cultivation of various crops.

Dr Victor Hipolito Martinez told about the difficulties facing Argentina's agriculture.

The desire for the implementation of cooperation in forestry was reciprocated.

## Tours Plovdiv Okrug

AU081831 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 8 Apr 85

[Excerpts] During his visit to Plovdiv city and Plovdiv Okrug, Dr Victor Hipolito Martinez, Argentine vice president, showed great interest in the achievements of our modern agriculture and the cultural and historical heritage of Plovdiv city.

The Argentine vice president reviewed the architecture-historical complex in old Plovdiv and laid a wreath at the Pantenon -- the common grave of the fighters who lost their lives in the national liberation struggles and the struggle against fascism.

Stoyan Koshulev, chairman of the Plovdiv Okrug People's Council Executive Committee, gave an official luncheon in honor of the Argentine guest.

During his visit to Plovdiv Okrug, the Argentine vice president was accompanied by Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BNAU] Permanent Board.

## Attends BNAU Reception

AU092012 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 9 Apr 85

[Text] Dr Victor Hipolito Martinez, vice president of Argentina and deputy chairman of the Radical Civic Union Party of Argentina, was acquainted with some remarkable monuments and cultural landmarks of our capital, Sofia, today.

The BNAU Permanent Board gave a cocktail reception in honor of the Argentine guest at the Lozenets Residence tonight.

The cocktail reception, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, was attended by Petur Tanchev, secretary of the BNAU Permanent Board, as well as by secretaries and members of the BNAU Permanent Board, government members, and deputy ministers.

## Gives Press Conference

AU101515 Sofia BTA in English 1304 GMT 10 Apr 85

[Text] Sofia, April 10 (BTA) -- Dr Victor Hipolito Martinez, Argentinas vice-president, who paid an eight-day official visit here at the invitation of the State Council, is pleased with the talks he held in this country. At a meeting with the press today the distinguished guest expressed his satisfaction with the opportunity he has had of meeting with Bulgaria's head of state Mr Todor Zhivkov and of exchanging views with a number of officials. "My talks were held in a very open, very frank spirit," he emphasized. Dr Victor Hipolito Martinez said that despite Argentina and Bulgaria's belonging to different socio-economic systems, a common platform for cooperation had been found. "We must attain a higher level of bilateral contacts," he observed.

In reply to a question the Argentinian vice-president said he supports the initiative of a visit by President Raul Alfonsin to Bulgaria and will insist that this visit be realized.

Dr Victor Hipolito Martinez also commented on certain opportunities of cooperation between Argentina and Bulgaria. He assessed the progress Bulgaria has made in her socio-economic development as a good starting point for activated cooperation. He is impressed with the country's achievements in the development and transference of new technologies, with the successes in the field of science and culture. Dr Martinez has been especially interested in Bulgarian agriculture. "We can learn from Bulgaria experience in the sphere of technologies, applied in agriculture and the ferrous metallurgy.... Argentina has a large market for the products of Bulgarian petrochemistry and pharmaceutics," he added. In his view reciprocal trade can be doubled and trebled.

The vice-president also dwelt on the situation in Argentina. He sees as a foremost task the restoration of that country's economy, the undertaking of measures to cope with the considerable foreign debt and to curb the desperately high rate of inflation.

The guest expressed his support for the efforts of the Contadora Group towards a political settlement of the Central American crisis. He declared himself in favour of the peoples right to self-determination, of respect for the sovereignty of states, of the refraining from actions which aggravate conflicts and of the non-rendering of military aid.

BALEV RECEIVES PZPR CC WORKING GROUP 11 APRIL

AU112023 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Comrade Milko Balev, BCP Central Committee Politburo member, received a working group from the PZPR Central Committee, headed by Docent Dr. Stanislaw (Wiatkowsci), director of the center for public opinion research. The delegation is visiting our country to acquaint itself with the experience of the BCP in information-sociological activities and public opinion research.

GORBACHEV PROPOSAL 'GREAT CHANCE' FOR PEACE

AU111603 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Apr 85 p 2

[Editorial Article: "A Great Chance for All Peoples"]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, has submitted to the world a new, extraordinarily important Soviet initiative for improving the international situation. This initiative finds full support and approval in the GDR. Erich Honecker has termed it a great chance for all peoples. He stated that "it is particularly significant that the USSR has introduced a moratorium on deployment of its intermediate-range missiles and has stopped implementing other countermeasures in Europe. Thus, an example of goodwill has been given. It is only to be hoped that the United States will not turn a deaf ear to this and that in turn it will stop deploying intermediate-range missiles in Europe."

The Soviet proposals are topical, precisely with a view to the Geneva negotiations from which the peoples expect a turn for the better. These proposals seek to use the opportunities for improving relations between the USSR and the United States and to translate them into specific policy, into practical solutions. With its unilateral moratorium, the Soviet Union once again is taking a first and at the same time far-reaching step. With this it demonstrates its readiness for a sincere dialogue, which, as he stated, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary is ready to conduct at a meeting with the U.S. President. All this is eliciting a lasting response worldwide.

In his interview with PRAVDA, Mikhail Gorbachev recalls the targets of the Geneva negotiations agreed upon with the United States to not start an arms race in space; to put an end to the arms race on earth; and to begin radically reducing nuclear arms with the ultimate aim of eliminating them altogether. Once one sits down at the table to agree on reducing arms, he argues -- and nobody can close his eyes to such a train of thought -- one should at least forego adding additional arms. If the leading U.S. politicians declare themselves in favor of radical arms reductions, it is only logical to first stop the arms race and then subsequently move on to reductions.

The measures proposed by the Soviet Union have resulted from all this and should apply for the entire duration of the negotiations: First, a moratorium on the creation of space attack weapons, including a moratorium on research and development work and on the testing and deployment of such weapons; second, a freeze of strategic offensive weapons; third, a halt in the deployment of U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Europe and, accordingly, also an end to the expansion of countermeasures.

As far as the last proposal is concerned, the Soviet Union, as was mentioned above, has already taken the first step to this end and has thus demonstrated its will to advance on the road toward ensuring a lasting peace. Its moratorium on deployment of its own intermediate-range missiles and the implementation of other countermeasures in Europe applies until this November, that is, a good six months. Whatever happens afterwards, whatever decision the Soviet Union makes after that, depends on whether the United States stops deploying its intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

The response that the Moscow initiative has received from the international public reveals that the peoples expect Washington to take advantage of the opportunity offered by Moscow. It is a unique chance not only to make progress at the Geneva negotiations, but also to improve relations between the USSR and the United States and to achieve an improvement in the overall international situation.

It is a chance for peace that must not be wasted.

Now the decision must be made as to where the development of Soviet-American relations, the development of international relations as a whole, will proceed. The choice is either an arms race in all directions and the growth of the danger of war, or the consolidation of general security and stable peace for all.

In the Soviet view, relations between the USSR and the United States remain tense despite a certain but not very great progress. Mikhail Gorbachev has described the situation soberly and accurately. Washington has put its stake in superior strength, something that would subordinate the world to the United States. The new strategic arms programs are being pushed through Congress by those people who are conducting the Geneva negotiations on behalf of the United States.

It is indeed a real, horrible danger that is hidden behind the "star wars" plans. While people speak of defense, preparations for attack are being made. This is how this project for the militarization of space is described in the PRAVDA interview. A space shield is being advertised while a space sword is being forged. Pledges are being made to eliminate nuclear arms, but in practice they are being stockpiled and perfected. The world is promised stability while schemes are being made to destroy the military equilibrium.

It is with the lure of technological advantages that the United States is trying to make its allies accomplices in this dangerous project. The physicist Manfred von Ardenne commented on these problems in yesterday's edition of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in detail. It is particularly persuasive if a scientist of such standing, who no one in this field can dupe, on the basis of his life experience and research work, arrives at the conclusion that no country or scientist should, by participating in research on an attack system in space, become an accessory in setting off another round of the arms race.

Mikhail Gorbachev's statement was received by the international public with satisfaction. Confrontation is no innate defect of relations between the USSR and the United States, but rather an anomaly. There is no compelling reason for this confrontation to persist; it is both necessary and also possible to improve relations.

The world public views with attention a possible meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and President Reagan. As is well known, both sides have voiced positive attitudes toward such a meeting. Its time and venue will be the subject of another agreement. Of particular importance in this respect is the statement of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary that it is necessary to give Soviet-American relations serious impetus at a high political level.

This proposal to the U.S. Administration -- that in doing so the USSR and the United States should make it clear to their own people and those of the other countries that the policies of the two countries do not seek enmity and confrontation, but mutual understanding and peaceful development -- elicits approval throughout the entire world.

The GDR's determination at the side of the Soviet Union to do everything possible to prevent a nuclear inferno and to lead the policy of peaceful coexistence to victory was reaffirmed by Erich Honecker on behalf of our people with the approval of the Soviet proposals. "We shall also in the future," he stated, "make our contribution to solving international problems by continuing our policy for the creation of a worldwide coalition of common sense and realism, of conducting political dialogue with all forces interested in peace. Peace, peace, and peace again -- this is the state doctrine of the GDR."

And precisely because this is the resolute position of our entire people, the new Moscow initiative for the cause of peace is finding such emphatic support in our entire country.

SED, SPD MEET ON CHEMICAL-WEAPON-FREE ZONE

LD111732 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1505 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Berlin, 11 Apr (ADN) -- The SED Central Committee and SPD Executive Committee's groups of experts for preparation of a joint intitiative for the establishment of a chemical-weapon-free zone in Europe met for their fifth round of talks in Berlin today. They briefed one another on the attitude of the two party leaderships on the results of the work done by the two parties' groups of experts.

The SED and SPD leaders consider these results generally positive. The groups of experts have been instructed to clarify the remaining questions. Taking part in the meeting for the SED were Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Manfred Uschner, deputy department chief on the SED Central Committee; Prof Karlheinz Lohs, director of the research department for chemical toxology of the GDR Academy of Sciences; Klaus-Dieter Ernst, section chief in the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs; and Karl-Heinz Wagner, official of the SED Central Committee. Taking part for the SPD were Karsten D. Voigt, chairman of the working group for chemical disarmament and of the foreign policy working group of the SPD parliamentary group, member of the Executive Committee of the SPD parlimentary group, and member of the SPD Executive Committee; Egon Bahr, chairman of the Bundestag subcommittee for disarmament and arms control and member of the SPD Presidium; Dr Hermann Scheer, chairman of the disarmament and arms control working group of the SPD parliamentary party and member of the SPD party council, and Dr Use Stehr, disarmament and arms control expert of the SPD parliamentary group.

GOETTING, FRIENDSHIP DELEGATION ARRIVE IN PRC

LD120903 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1641 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Beijing, 11 Apr (ADN) -- A delegation of the GDR International Friendship Leaque headed by Gerald Goetting, president of the league, arrived in Beijing today at the invitation of the president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, Wang Bingnan. Today the guests also met with the vice president of the association, Chu Tunan, who, pointing to the traditional friendhip between the Chinese and GDR peoples, expressed his pleasure that in recent years the relations of friendly cooperation between the two peoples in the economic, cultural, and other spheres, including the relations between the two friendship societies, has visibly developed. The visit, Chu Tunan stressed, will help strengthen cooperation in the interests of both peoples for peace and socialism.

Gerald Goetting also expressed satisfaction at the recent positive developments. He said that for the future deepening of our cooperation we are guided by the common interests of both peoples -- the building of socialism and the safeguarding of peace.

ECONOMIC COORDINATION WITH ROMANIA DISCUSSED

AU101206 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Apr 85 p 2

[Text] Bucharest (ADN) -- Talks on further developing and deepening economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and the SR of Romania were concluded in Bucharest on 3 April.

The talks, held under the chairmanship of Rudolf Heinze, deputy chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, and of Ion Ceausescu, first deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee of the SR of Romania, focused on continuing plan coordination between the two countries from 1986 to 1990. They specifically focused on utilizing further possibilities for specialization and cooperation and at working out measures for a steady expansion of mutual deliveries in the coming 5-year-plan period.

On the basis of the agreements concluded between Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, and Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president of Romania, the sides discussed possibilities and specific measures for expanding cooperation especially in the fields of machine building and electrical engineering and electronics.

During his stay in Bucharest, Rudolf Heinze was received by Gheorge Oprea, member of the Permanent Bureau of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and first deputy prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania, and by Stefan Birlea, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and chairman of the State Planning Committee of the SR of Romania. Present at the talks was GDR Ambassador Dr Herbert Plaschke.

FISCHER, UK'S HOWE EXCHANGE TOASTS AT 8 APR FETE

LD082103 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1819 GMT 8 Apr 85

[Text] Berlin, 8 Apr (ADN) -- GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and his wife gave a dinner this evening in Berlin in honor of Sir Geoffrey Howe, secretary of state for foreign and Commonwealth affairs of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and his wife. Participating were members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Hermann Axen and Egon Krenz, secretaries of the Central Committee; Deputy Chairman of the State Council Prof Dr Manfred Gerlach; Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Dr Herbert Weiz; and other personages from GDR social life.

The two foreign ministers traded toasts at the beginning of the dinner at the Unter den Linden Palace.

Oskar Fischer first referred to the afternoon's open and constructive talks in which reason and realism made the preservation of peace the central topic. Against the background of overflowing arsenals, which are hardly able to contain the rapidly growing flow of increasingly efficient weapons, nothing is more important. The discussion of international problems and the relations between the two states is of more than slight value in view of the continuing complicated and dangerous international events.

In a few weeks, World War II veterans from the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States will again join hands after 40 years at the historic site of Torgau on the Elbe, he said. They want that to be viewed as a symbol of the outlawing of war, as a manifestation of understanding and friendship.

The GDR welcomed the start of the Soviet-American negotiations on the whole complex of nuclear and space weapons. "We understand this to mean," Fischer said, "that any attempt at an arms race in space should not even begin. This applies to research as well. We do not stand with those who wish to make a scientific contribution to building the path leading to nuclear hell. On the contrary, we stand with those who are determined to thwart this by all means." Results are possible in Geneva if all the sides in the negotiations show honest intentions on the basis of equality and equal security.

The USSR, which is willing to undertake this, has again just taken the initiative through Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in order to rigorously turn the situation in favor of life today and in the future.

The GDR, Fischer said, expects a corresponding answer from the other side, agreement, and the necessary practical actions.

Foreign Minister Fischer asked why both sides should not promise for the duration of the Geneva negotiations to observe a moratorium on the building, testing, and deployment of offensive space weapons; to freeze strategic offensive weapons at their current level; and to end deployment of further medium-range missiles in Europe.

If it was clear to everyone 40 years ago that only a coalition of nations could gain victory over the fascist barbarity, it should be equally self-evident today that the danger of a nuclear inferno must be opposed with a global coalition of reason and realism to turn back from the path of nuclear destruction.

Bilateral and multilateral dialogue among states with differing social systems is being held on many levels. The GDR welcomes this and takes an active part in the dialogue itself. The European states have numerous opportunities to develop their continent more safely and make relations among one another more stable and trusting.

The British foreign minister's visit could be the necessary first step expected by both nations for deepening the political dialogue and expanding bilateral relations. The GDR is ready to expand relations with Great Britain in all areas of reciprocal interest at the speed and to the extent that corresponds to the considerable possibilities of the two states. This also concerns a further increase in trade and economic relations to mutual benefit. Foreign Minister Fischer expressed the conviction that the relations between the two states would continue to develop to reciprocal benefit and in the interest of peace.

In his reply, Sir Geoffrey Howe expressed his joy at being in the GDR for the first time. He pointed to numerous meetings by politicians from the two countries in recent times. The foreign secretary expressed the opinion that this reflects the fact that both governments are committed to a policy of dialogue. Both recognize the significance of regular personal contacts and of a detailed exchange of views. "In order to profit form such contacts, we cannot, however, afford to overlook the political realities. Our two states follow fundamentally different political paths. It follows from this that our views on many policy aspects differ."

Great Britain also shares the memory of the sufferings Europe experienced during the dark years of the 20th century. Next month we shall commemorate the 40th anniversary of the end of the last serious hostilities in Europe. "We shall commemorate all those who died for peace in freedom and justice. We must all work to preserve this peace for future generations."

Sir Geoffrey Howe expounded his views on the goals of NATO, among other things, with regard to the Geneva negotiations. The Soviet Union, he continued, has in the last few days made a declaration on the deployment of longer-distance medium-range missiles. "We shall check it carefully, to see whether it can contribute to attainment of the goal of truly balanced and verifiable reductions of these weapons."

The fact that the countries of Europe use their resources to such a high level for defense is to be most deeply regretted. "We must all be conscious with renewed energy and decisiveness of the urgent need for a stable equilibrium at a lower level of armaments." Great Britain will indeed make her contribution to this.

Dealing with the 10th anniversary of Helsinki, he said that Great Britain feels deeply committed to the whole of the Final Act. To neglect one aspect would damage the whole. Sir Geoffrey said that all barriers that still divide people must be removed. He expressed the view that work must be done toward the day when freedom of travel between Eastern and Western Europe in both directions will become possible. Secretary of State Howe expressed his support for the expansion of bilateral trade and cultural, scientific, and sports relations. "We respect the economic performance of your government and give your exporters a fair chance to present their range of products. For our part, we expect that British exporters will be allowed to show what they can contribute to the fulfillment of the next 5-year plan."

In spite of everything that divides us, we have certain basic aims in common. Mutually acceptable paths to achieve security for both nations and for peace in Europe must be sought. "That is why we must keep talking," the foreign secretary emphasized. "As State Council Chairman Erich Honecker said so graphically: It is better to negotiate 10 times than to shoot once. Those are wise words."

FDGB'S TISCH, FRENCH TRADE UNIONIST HOLD TALKS

LD112207 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1627 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Berlin, 11 Apr (ADN) -- The mobilization of all forces for indefatigable work to maintain and safeguard peace is the most important aspect of trade union work. This was stressed by Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB, and Henri Krasucki, general secretary of the French trade union federation, CGT, during a talk in Berlin today. Krasucki is in the GDR for the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Buchenwald concentration camp.

They expressed their conviction that it is possible, by means of the Soviet-American negotiations that have begun in Geneva, to prevent an arms race in space and to ultimately end it on earth. Harry Tisch stressed that a positive reply by the United States to the Soviet proposals submitted by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev would create a favorable atmosphere for the Geneva talks.

Harry Tisch briefed the guest on the results of the socialist competition organized by the GDR trade unions, which are in all respects a worthy preparation for the 40th anniversary of liberation from fascism. With their many initiatives, the working people are underlining their readiness for unconditional support for the policy of the party of the working class and the socialist state, which is directed towards the well-being of the people and the protection of peace.

Henri Krasucki reported on the situation of the working people in his country and on the CGT's struggle against constantly rising unemployment, social cuts, and employers' attacks on trade union and democratic rights.

The two sides discussed preparations for the 35th anniversary of the signing of the first militant agreement between the two organizations as well as their contribution to the 11th World Trade Union Congress, which is to be held in the GDR capital in 1986.

PRODUCTION, PRODUCTIVITY RISE IN FIRST QUARTER

AU100938 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Apr 85 p 1

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN) -- In the first quarter of this year, in spite of extreme winter conditions, outstanding results were achieved in the national economy by the working people in socialist competition in honor of the 11th SED congress.

In the bezirk-administered industry, the growth of net production and labor productivity per working day developed as follows:

| | Net Production | Labor Productivity |
|---|---|---|
| | in percent | |
| Capital of Berlin | 17.4 | 15.7 |
| Cottbus | 12.2 | 12.0 |
| Dresden | 11.2 | 11.2 |
| Erfurt | 16.3 | 13.5 |
| Frankfurt (Oder) | 13.8 | 10.5 |
| Gera | 15.3 | 13.0 |
| Halle | 14.8 | 14.1 |
| Karl-Marx-Stadt | 9.3 | 9.1 |
| Leipzig | 10.4 | 10.4 |
| Magdeburg | 13.9 | 13.4 |
| Neubrandenburg | 8.5 | 7.5 |
| Potsdam | 14.8 | 12.7 |
| Rostock | 10.7 | 9.0 |
| Schwerin | 14.1 | 10.1 |
| Suhl | 13.2 | 12.9 |

HONECKER SENDS CONDOLENCES TO ALBANIA ON HOXHA

LD111836 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Excerpts] Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, died today. He was 76.

Erich Honecker has sent a telegram of condolences on Enver Hoxha's death in which the conviction of the communists of the GDR is expressed to the effect that the Albanian working people will pursue socialist development with determination and success.

## LEADERS ATTEND PPF COUNCIL SESSION ON ELECTIONS

### Session Outlined

LD111513 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] The National Council of the PPF is holding a session in parliament house to discuss the tasks connected with the preparations for the election of National Assembly deputies and council members. The reporter is Zsoka Szanto:

[Szanto] The PPF National Council chaired by Gyula Kallai has convened in the Hunter Hall of parliament house. Present at the session are Janos Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council; Istvan Sarlos, president of the National Assembly; and Politburo members. After Gyula Kallai's opening speech, General Secretary Imre Pozsgay spoke about the tasks arising from the resolutions of the 13th congress. He said that during the preparations for the elections, this important event in our public life, it is important that society make a united stand to attain the common objectives for which the congress has given direction. The general secretary also said that the church leaders have assured the PPF leaders of their support in connection with this work and with the election. Finally, Imre Pozsgay acquainted the participants with the proposal which, building on the resolutions of the 13th congress, is at the same time the PPF's program for the coming years.

After Imre Pozsgay, Janos Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, rose to speak. He spoke first of all about his observations connected with the reactions to the congress. The party members and those outside the party followed the work of the congress with virtually identical intensity and attention. He highlighted the PPF's role and support in every stratum of society for realization of the country-building objectives of the congress. After that, Janos Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, expressed his opinions about the PPF's draft election appeal. Several speakers then added their views to and debated the draft appeal.

At the session of the PPF National Council, Dr Bela Molnar, national secretary, will give a briefing about the preparatory work for National Assembly and council elections. After that, the session will become a nominating assembly. It will select the candidate deputies of the 35-member national election list, among them politicians, church people, and artists.

### Pozsgay Outlines Policy

LD112242 Budapest MTI in English 1740 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Excerpt] Budapest, April 11 (MTI) -- The National Council of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front (PPF) held a session in Budapest on Thursday, which was also attended by HSWP General Secretary Janos Kadar. The agenda of the session included the PPF's position on the 13th HSWP Congress and issues on preparations for the elections of MP's and local council members.

Imre Poszgay, general secretary of the PPF National Council, informed the session on the 13th HSWP Congress, and outlined the tasks of the PPF with regard to the congress resolution. Imre Pozsgay stated:

The congress which was followed by a great deal of public interest, paid particular attention to the relations between the party and the people and endorsed a programme that will bring the agreement of the entire society.

The report of the congress considered the political activity of PPF successful. To raise the tasks set by the resolution to the level of a national programme is a priority of the People's Front movement, said Imre Pozsgay and read out the position paper of the National Council on the resolution of the 13th HSWP Congress.

The position paper points out: 'The National Council welcomes the fact that the 13th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party reconfirmed the party's main policy. It agrees with the social targets in economic construction, living standards and public culture, as defined by the resolution. The People's Front movement regards the directives and social goals of the resolution as the programme of national prosperity, a programme that serves the further advance of the nation.

'The PPF spares no effort in supporting the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic, which regards the securing of international peace, fostering of friendship between peoples, and promotion of social progress as its fundamental goals. To help realize such aims the People's Front is ready to mobilize the classes and strata of society, party members and non-party members, religious believers and non believers. In the traditional and new fields of its activity it strives to contribute to the preparation of decisions on fundamental social, political and economic issues, and take a responsible part in their implementation,' states the position paper.

Imre Pozsgay submitted the draft of the election call of PPF to the National Council and pointed out that the draft had been worked out on the basis of extensive public consultation.

## Kadar Warsaw Pact Proposal

LD112227 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Speech by Janos Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, at the PPF National Council Session on 11 April in Budapest -- recorded]

[Text] Now, as an afterthought, while it is fresh in our minds, perhaps we can say that this congress fulfilled its function. It gave a decent account of the work of the past 5 years, analyzed with great responsibility the current situation, both domestic and international, and with the same sense of responsibility, marked out the main directions and path of further progress. This has been a successful and good congress. I do not think I exaggerate when I say that the party membership and the entire Hungarian public interested in politics almost breathed together with the congress and followed it daily, followed every phrase of its work, and we are familiar with [words indistinct] international echoes.

And now on today's PPF session. This meeting is very significant because the solution of a very important political task awaits us -- the proper preparation and organization of the National Assembly and council elections. This also has equal significance in our everyday work. Since open politics -- I am speaking about the party -- is our duty, as we should conduct politics openly for our people, another condition is required for this, which is, if possible, that we should work with clean and unambiguous concepts, because if we operate with obscure concepts that can be misunderstood, then everyone can twist and turn these to suit their own tastes.

What I am thinking about is that if there is talk of demand, then it is obligatory to also speak about the conditions and possibilities for satisfying this demand.

And when we think about patriotism we say that our party is a patriotic and internationalist party -- this is according to our interpretation and may not apply to everyone present here. We Communists consider ourselves to be patriots, but we must be very careful and pay attention to this. If I say patriot [hazafi], then it should be spelled according to the rules of Hungarian grammar and not written with two 'f's and a 'y' because those kinds of patriots worked so hard that this nation nearly perished from their efforts.

This is what I wanted to mention here, and if you can accept this stance in connection with the congress, the electoral appeal, and if we can stand in front of our people in this spirit at the elections, then I think we can again take a big step forward in the areas of our democratic development, the further strengthening of national unity and alliance, as well as in our construction work. This is my firm conviction.

Now I would like to say something about foreign policy. Our stance is a just one. It can be represented courageously everywhere and before everyone. Our aims are: negotiated settlements, a halt in the arms race, a reduction in the levels of arms and then wide-ranging disarmament, the destruction of nuclear weapons, and so forth, with the creation of equal security for the parties involved. There is no more honest stance than this, I believe. And we think this is in everyone's interest. In fact, this is not only in the interest of the Hungarian people and the socialist countries, it is also in the interest of all peoples. There are now two organized forces: the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

We are of the opinion that in the existing circumstances, the Warsaw Pact must be extended. This will take place shortly. All the countries concerned agree with this. However, it is worth recalling -- because many may not be aware and others may have forgotten -- that NATO was born first, and only later, as a response and therefore for defense reasons, was the Warsaw Pact created. Everyone also knows that the Warsaw Pact repeatedly proposed the simultaneous abolishment of the two organizations. This proposal is still valid, but in the existing situation, this defense shield is needed and the Warsaw Pact must be extended.

## Hegedus Retires

LD112332 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Excerpts] The PPF National Council has approved the national list for the June National Assembly elections on which the names of 35 candidate deputies appear. At its session in the parliament building, after a briefing by General Secretary Imre Pozsgay on the 13th party congress, the council approved the PPF stance on the party congress resolution.

The National Council agress with the social goals designated in the congress resolution and considers them the program for national progress. It welcomes the fact that in shaping our country's future, the broadening of the foundations of national accord and the alliance policy are the main features. The session was also addressed by Janos Kadar, general secretary of the party.

National Secretary of the PPF Bela Molnar then outlined the Presidium's proposal on the candidate deputies to be included on the national electoral list. He stressed that these are candidates whose activities cannot be tied to individual constitutencies, but the National Assembly needs their experience and work. The list will be disseminated tomorrow evening by radio and television and on Saturday morning by the dailies.

The PPF National Council ended its session by deciding on personnel matters.

Secretary Laszlo S. Hegedus was relieved of his post at his own request on account of his retirement, and at the same time was elected deputy chairman and cochairman of the National Consumer Cooperatives Council.

TOASTS EXCHANGED AT 4 APR LIBERATION BANQUET

Lazar Toast

AU102032 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Apr 85 p 2

[Report on toast given by Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at a dinner in parliament on 4 April for the foreign delegations present at the celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of Hungary's liberation]

[Text] On behalf of the party, the Presidential Council, and the government, Gyorgy Lazar greeted the representatives of fraternal parties and friendly socialist countries.

"Today 40 years have passed," he said, "since the heroic Red Army of the Soviet Union, which bore the main burden of the war, drove the last fascist troops from the territory of our country, and with that a new period opened in our country's history. We will remember with eternal gratitude the heroic Soviet fighters; the sons of all nations -- among them Bulgarians, Yugoslavs, and Romanian; and the Hungarian anti-fascists and resistance fighters who gave their lives so that our people could take possession of their ancestral heritage and start to implement their centuries-old dreams of creating a new and free fatherland."

The prime minister spoke of the reconstruction of the ruined country, the consolidation of the people's power, and of the just concluded 13th congress of our party. He then continued:

"Looking back ever the past 4 decades, the congress was able to sum up achievements of which we can be justifiably proud. Our development has not been unbroken, but our Marxist-Leninist party broke for good with the mistakes of the past and for almost 3 decades has been pursuing a policy that our people accept and support."

In his toast, Gyorgy Lazar spoke about our country's domestic policy. He stressed that although conditions have become much more difficult than previously, our national economy has nevertheless further developed in recent years, albeit somewhat more slowly, and we have safeguarded all our socialist achievements. The congress has set the task of accelerating the switch over to an intensive phase.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers said that our party and government, in harmony with our national interests, has always turned great attention to the promotion of Hungarian-Soviet friendship and to developing existing relations with fraternal socialist countries, and will henceforth also do everything to help strengthen the unity of the alliance.

From the point of view of development of the international situation, a new development that gives rise to hopes and is greeted with joy all over the world is the resumption of Soviet-U.S. negotiations in Geneva. Our party and government are striving to contribute, through a foreign policy sychronized with the other socialist countries, to avoiding the dangers threatening world peace and to maintaining and developing relations based on equal rights between countries of different social orders.

In concluding his speech, Gyorgy Lazar raised his glass to the health of all guests present, to the health of communist and workers parties, to the indissoluble friendship of our peoples, to socialism and peace.

Kuznetsov Toast

AU111457 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Apr 85 p 2

[Report on toast given by Vasiliy Kuznetsov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, at a luncheon given for foreign delegations in Budapest on 4 April to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Hungarian liberation]

[Text] In the name of the delegations, Vasiliy Kuznetsov expressed thanks in his toast for the invitation to the liberation festivities.

He said that during the past 4 decades the working class, the rural workers, and professionals of Hungary have achieved outstanding successes in all areas of building socialism under the leadership of the communist party, and congratulated them for these results with warm wishes.

Next he expressed appreciation for the international historic importance of the victory over fascism and stressed: The past decades are proof of the enormous creative strength and indisputable advantages of the socialist system. The fraternal countries have completely changed their destinies and overcome many trials. Socialism is a decisive factor in development and in preserving peace. He added that our common aim and task is to do our best in further strengthening the positions of socialism.

Kuznetsov pointed out: The CPSU is firmly determined to further increase cooperation with the socialist states, to enlarge the role of socialism and its influence on solving the problems of the world. He stressed: The importance of the cooperation of the socialist countries has particularly increased in the current complicated and dangerous international situation. This is the foremost precondition for hindering the efforts of imperialism, which ignores the people's will and is directed against socialism. Our common efforts serve the purpose of achieving success in limiting the arms race and in averting nuclear war, which threatens the world.

Concluding his speech, Vasiliy Kuznetsov expressed wishes to the Hungarian workers for much success in mastering the tasks set at the 13th MSZMP Congress for building a developed socialist society and further strengthening the socialist fatherland. He raised his glass to the health of all present, to strengthening the unity and accord of the socialist countries, to the friendship and multilateral cooperation of the two countries, and to lasting peace on our earth.

TRADE PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH UNITED STATES

LD111116 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, April 10 (MTI) - The Hungarian-American inter-governmental joint commission for economic and trade cooperation finished its two-day session in Budapest on Wednesday. The protocol on the session was signed by Tibor Melega, Hungarian deputy foreign trade minister, and Joseph Dennin, U.S. state secretary of commerce, [title as received] co-chairmen of the commission.

From 1977 to 1984 the share of the United States in Hungarian export to the advanced capitalist countries increased from 3 to 8 per cent, and in import from 4 to 7 per cent. The United States is the 4th largest capitalist trade partner of Hungary. Due to a rapid increase in export, last year saw the first trade surplus.

Export is mainly vehicle components, running gears, tinned meat, ready to wear, aluminium semi-finished goods, incandescent lamps and pharmaceutical agents, and import components of machinery and instruments, chemicals, vehicle parts, soya flour and pharmauceutical agents.

Joseph Dennin, head of the U.S. delegation, met Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai and Foreign Trade Minister Peter Veress.

POSITIVE CHANGES IN U.S. ECONOMIC WAR POLICY SEEN

LD112045 Budapest in English to Europe 1050 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Next East-West trade: Hungary is not just interested in East-West trade, but depends on it to quite an extent as 50 percent of the country's national income is realized through such trade. So, small wonder that a significant part of Hungarian research on world economics centers on this topic. In the latest issue of FOREIGN POLICY, a theoretical periodical, there are two articles about East-West economic relations, mainly their political aspects and their prospects. Janos (Kisovszky) reviews the articles:

[Kisovszky] One of the articles gives a historical account of post-World War II Western strategy conception concerning East-West economic relations. The other reviews the different forms of trade war. The Truman Doctrine, the American Export Control Act and its international expanded version, the COCOM, Committee for the Control of the Export of Strategic Commodities [as heard], were the first general steps taken in the all-out economic war against the newly formed socialist community. This economic war of course had and still has aims that are primarily political. The period of detente in the 60's and 70's had its impact on economic cooperation but as the periodical FOREIGN POLICY points out, restrictive measures on the part of Western countries were renewed in the past decade.

The idea behind this was and still is that the obstacles laid in the path of East-West economic relations would cause difficulties in the socialist economy, slow down development, and widen the technological gap. There are a whole set of measures that can be considered as means of economic warfare: different trade policy measures, such as direct administrative export-import restrictions, quota restrictions, duties, taxes, and other charges. Other examples are the technological embargo, a restriction on the selling and buying of licenses and know-how and to contain [as heard] scientific cooperation.

A key element of economic warfare is, of course, the continuation of the arms race. This is characteristic of American policy considerations. According to Washington, every new round of the arms race requires great sacrifices from the socialist countries that would finally lead them to economic collapse and the total socioeconomic bankruptcy of the system.

The author of the article in FOREIGN POLICY points out that economic war is an abnormal aspect of international relations, if we consider that the trade turnover between the Western countries, which are responsible for more than half of the world production, and the socialist countries, which are responsible for one third, is only 3 to 4 percent of world trade.

The socialist countries renounce any means of economic warfare. They are keen advocates of enlarging the international division of labor and developing mutually advantageous economic, trade, scientific, and technological relations with all countries, including those with a different social system. For this, they have very good reasons, as, true enough, economic war does have its negative impact on their economies. At the same time, it must be stressed that the economic block against the socialist countries ended in a fiasco, as it was unable to seriously hinder development.

The article in the FOREIGN POLICY journal points out that even in the Western countries there are a growing number of critics of this type of aggressive economic policy. Criticism is increasing first of all based on a question on principle as the means of economic warfare are totally in contrast with the principle of free enterprise. And not least, there is the practical side: In most cases the aggressive restrictive measures turn out to be unfavorable not just for those they were intended for; in other words they may backfire. A good example of this was the 1980 grain embargo.

The article draws the final analysis that in the interest of maintaining world peace and security and overcoming global problems, the East and West should work on enlarging economic cooperation and putting an end to economic warfare. The article concludes that there are some signs in American foreign policy that indicate some change. It seems that on the other side of the Atlantic, strategic thinking is beginning to realize the narrow option of its economic conceptions. As a result of this, though slightly, confrontation will lessen in East-West relations and economic factors will probably play a more significant role in improving them.

## CUBAN TRADE UNION DELEGATION BEGINS VISIT

### Met by Gaspar

LD111122 Budapest MTI in English 1019 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, April 10 (MTI) -- A Cuban trade union delegation, headed by Roberto Veiga Menendez, general secretary of the Confederation of Cuban Workers (CTC), arrived in Hungary on Wednesday on the invitation of the Central Council of Trade Unions (SZOT). At Ferihegy Airport the delegation met SZOT President Sandor Gaspar.

### Received by Kadar

LD112210 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest -- Janos Kadar has received a Cuban trade union delegation. The party's secretary general met the delegation headed by the secretary general of the central organization of Cuban trade unions currently in Hungary on an official friendly visit, at the headquarters of the MSZMP Central Committee. Deputy Secretary General Karoly Nemeth also received the Cuban guests. Present at the meeting was Sandor Gaspar, president of the National Council of Trade Unions.

## MARJAI, CSSR'S ROHLICEK ADDRESS CSSR DAYS OPENING

LD102101 Budapest MTI in English 1740 GMT 10 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, April 10 (MTI) -- The 6th Czechoslovak Economic and Cultural Days opened in Budapest, on Wednesday.

Addressing the opening ceremony, Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers and chairman of the Hungarian section of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak Commission for Economic, Technical and Scientific Cooperation, assessed bilateral cooperation and listed common aims in the further development of relations. He recalled that the unfavourable world economic changes had compelled both countries to make every effort since the Czechoslovak Economic and Technical Days in Budapest in 1979.

Jozsef Marjai stressed that bilateral economic and technical relations had developed favourably even in difficult years. The targets set by inter-governmental agreements for 1981-85 are expected to be overfulfilled. Stability was based on the strengthening of cooperation with the socialist countries and first of all with the Soviet Union. The expansion of these relations, and the efficient and well-considered concentration of resources -- as stated in the recent economic summit of the CMEA countries -- are becoming even more important priorities. The cooperation of Hungary and Czechoslovakia is successful. The foundation of economic, technical and scientific cooperation for the period 1986-90, mainly the completion of plan coordination for the forthcoming five-year period is the next aim which is close to fulfilment but still requires a great deal of effort, Jozsef Marjai said.

Then Deputy Prime Minister Rudolf Rohlicek, chairman of the Czechoslovak section of the cooperation commission, stressed the importance of the further strengthening of Czechoslovak-Hungarian economic, technical and scientific cooperation. He said that the present economic and technical days provided an opportunity for the further development of relations, and the exchange of views which contribute to the deepening of bilateral cooperation, said the Czechoslovak deputy prime minister on opening the event.

The 20th session of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak commission for economic, technical and scientific cooperation started with a plenary meeting on Wednesday, with Jozsef Marjai and Rudolf Rohlicek in the chair.

## Lazar Receives Rohlicek

LD112352 Budapest MTI in English 1738 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, April 11 (MTI) -- Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, met Rudolf Rohlicek, deputy prime minister and chairman of the Czechoslovak section of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak Commission for Economic, Technical and Scientific Cooperation, in Budapest Thursday. The cordial meeting was also attended by Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai, Hungarian co-chairman of the commission.

## CHURCH AFFAIRS OFFICIAL OUTLINES RELIGIOUS POLICY

AU101026 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 1 Apr 85 p 5

[Excerpts] During the last lecture of the trade union activists' academy, Imre Miklos, state secretary and chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs, informed the activists about our church policy. Below are excerpts of this lecture.

In his introduction, the speaker referred to the fact that there has recently been renewed interest in the church policy of the Hungarian People's Republic at home, in the socialist and captialist world, and in the countries of the Third World. Many people are looking for explanations as to how this particular policy came about; what is behind the well-regulated situation in relations between the state and the churches; and what is behind the fact that people of different ideologies want to work together and can consistently work to develop the country and solve the tasks inherent in supporting the building of a socialist society.

A church policy adapted to the new situation and based on old experience has been started on a firm principled basis in 1958-59, the main point of which is that in building socialist society it is not only possible but also necessary to have a well-regulated relationship between people of different ideologies and, consequently, between the institutional systems representing the different ideologies. This is not only a tactical standpoint, it is also a strategic one. We are convinced that socialism cannot be completed by workers of Marxist-Leninist ideology only. As the Ninth MSZMP Congress stated, the class struggle front does not lie between those who believe in God and those who do not, but between followers of progress and socialism on the one hand, and the hindering and retrograde forces on the other.

There is no cooperation between the churches and the state in ideology. Thus, the well-regulated relations do not entail giving up ideological convictions or coming closer to one's opponent.

Marxism-Leninism is not confined to denying things. Our system of ideas is not so poor as to be only able to deny things. We do have something to say to the people. Our system of ideas is rich, lively, and can stand comparison with religious theories. Naturally, this requires steady and extensive preparations and great patience. An atmosphere should be created in which it is possible to have intelligent, correct, and progressive arguments.

Our standpoint, which is supported by positive experience, is, however, exposed to various tests from time to time. It must also be noted that some opponents of socialism are trying to use religious belief as a political means against social progress.

The Central Committee's report to the 13th MSZMP congress, talking about relations between the state and the churches and about the future tasks, stated: "regardless of ideology and religious denomination, everyone is interested in the peaceful progress of the country along the road of economic, social, and cultural advance."

Two conclusions may be drawn from the Central Committee's analysis for workers occupied in the trade union movement. In the first place, there is the strengthening of the political unity of workers of different ideologies.

If there is a satisfactory atmosphere in the smaller and larger basic communities of the trade unions, then there is also a possibility for open discussions about political ideological questions.

In the second place, the trade unions will be able to achieve the strengthening of their mass-influence by the propagation of our socialist concepts and by a higher standard of ideological dialogue and ideological persuasion. In order to also win the people over to the aims of socialism based on personal convictions, it is necessary that they turn to us with their personal problems, and that they be given the right answers to their questions and help to solve their worries.

It is very important, apart from the positive propaganda of our theory, to give personal examples both from work and in private. Only thus will it be possible to gain the trust of our colleagues and to win the right to speak. That is why trade union activists have an important role in the implementation of the party's, the state's church policies.

As a result of mutual efforts, we are living in a society without fear. In such an atmosphere people are not afraid of being religious, and the churches are not afraid of actively propagating their ideas by using their lawful possibilities. We can add to this the growing interest of certain strata of young people, especially among the intellectuals, who are turning toward certain religions and church teachings. It would be a mistake to curtail this tendency in any way; on the contrary, these interests must be satisfied in a Marxist way. Possibilities must be better exploited within the family, at school, at work, in the youth and in organized workers' movements, and in other smaller communities in order to enrich general knowledge. to provide information about scientific ideology, and to improve the teaching and training work in this spirit. All possibilities are available for this at work as well. It is possible to and we must rely on the strength of the people's front movement and that of youth in creating unity, as well as to rely on the favorable influence of the youth clubs, cultural centers, and other cultural institutions.

We occupy a rather good position, since the great majority of working Hungarian people have approved socialism and take it seriously. But many of them still have an old-fashioned ideology, and the question in their eyes is not one of either socialism or religion. We must realize this, as this is reality. The policy of alliance needs to be strengthened because socialism can only be built fast and well in an environment of unity; at the same time, patience, preparedness, and the well-earned true of the people are needed to persuade them of the soundness of Marxist-Leninist ideology and socialism.

NEPSZABADSAG PUBLISHES MSZMP CONGRESS SPEECHES

Janos Kadar's Opening Speech

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[Speech by MSZMP General Secretary Janos Kadar at the opening session of the 13th MSZMP Congress on 25 March in Budapest]

[Text] Esteemed congress, dear comrades: Today is a great day in the history of our party as our 13th congress begins its work. This is an exceptionally important event for the party and for communists, but, due to our social order, our domestic political situation, and the leading role of the party, it also exerts significant influence upon the development of our country and the life of our people. We are participating in an event of great significance; much depends on how the congress carries out its work. I also wish for successful work. On my part, I would also like to greet from the bottom of my heart delegates to the congress, those invited from Hungary, who are also important factors in the life of our party, in the life of our society and its work, paying special attention among these to the group of veterans, who built the road of revolution for today's generation, to the group of our allies with whom we have fought up to now and wish to fight with in the future. If you allow me, I would like to particularly greet the invited guests from abroad, delegates of socialist countries, delegates of countries of socialist orientation, representatives of European communist and workers' parties and also the observers who thus honor our congress. Our party is a patriotic and internationalist party, an adherent of the principle of friendship among peoples, and therefore I particularly thank the foreign guests attending our congress for contributing to the strengthening of the international character of our congress with their presence.

Dear comrades, this time we dispatched the report of the Central Committee before this event -- every delegate of the congress received it 10 days earlier -- and since then, people invited, and what is more, our foreign guests, received it on their arrival. In our opinion, the advantage of this is that our delegates, by familiarizing themselves with the official documents of the congress, can better prepare for its work, and our invited guests can also relate to the items laid out in the main documents of our congress.

As an amendment, I would like to say a few words about the preparations. The debate over the guidelines has taken place in an orderly fashion, without exception, in every single one of more than 25,000 party cells. They were debated in every single one of 1,317 party conferences, and the 935 delegates to the congress were elected in line with the party statutes and the Central Committee's decision. The reason I am stressing the Central Committee's decision is that thanks to this larger hall, we have managed to strengthen the party membership representation a little, because in the past one delegate was elected by 1,300 members, whereas now one delegate represents 1,000 members at the congress.

I would like to say a few words about the circumstances -- which we have to look at -- the circumstances in which the congress is carrying out its work. Just to say: Our congress is carrying out its work in a complicated world situation. At home, we have 5 years burdened with problems behind us. This long and painful winter has played its part in our mood, with the accompanying difficulties in energy supply, which further exacerbated the population's fuel problems. It must also be mentioned that the January price increases, which were forced upon us by circumstances, are noteworthy.

We can also talk about other circumstances, those that helped in the preparation for the congress and also strengthened the position of the congress on the public mood level. I would like to mention only a few of these: First I want to mention the objective, open, and constructive debate that characterized the entire membership's preparation for the congress. There was a great deal of activity. More than 20 percent of our party's membership rose to speak in those debates and expressed their opinions. The debate is familiar to you all. You know that many problems played a role in it and that people spoke about this. You know that there were also disputed issues, such as trends in the standard of living, the situation of the aged, of pensioners, the situation of young people starting out in life. Other issues were also raised in the debate, such as the various economic work collectives, the so-called ventures and, well, the negative phenomena to be found in trade and other areas.

Those responsible for this were adequately represented in the debate, every contributor, or a vast majority of contributors to the debate, were guided by the intention of improving things. During the course of this debate, during the course of preparations for the congress, everywhere, every party meeting as well as the population of the country as a whole spoke deservedly about and recalled the 40th anniversary of our liberation.

Nevertheless, what is of decisive significance here at the congress, and I speak about this with warm feelings, is that in this great preparatory work, in this wide-ranging party debate, the basic theses of the guidelines published by the Central Committee commanded agreement, and it was apparent as a united desire, as a united demand, that we must continue on the main political path of the party and that the congress should provide an action program to the party membership and to our working people.

To the extent possible, the Central Committee endeavored to use the experiences of the debate in the documents submitted to the congress. The Central Committee presented a report on the work accomplished. It is the right of the congress to express a view on how the Central Committee worked. All the same, I would still ask you to take into account and recognize in behalf of the Central Committee that while we have been unable to realize to the full extent and in the appropriate way all the objectives laid down by the 12th congress, nevertheless, the Central Committee carried out difficult work in its position. Moreover, the intention, the endeavor for something better, was always to promote socialist construction in every respect and at all times and in every question.

Besides, please, attribute also to the Central Committee the fact that all along it carried out an open policy. We spoke about the results when it was correct, necessary, and befitting the occasion. Nor have we concealed the problems and the difficulties from the party membership or even from our people. This is very important.

On the subject of the Central Committee report itself, I believe your assessment will also confirm that we have not tried to sweep the serious troubles and problems under the carpet. On the contrary, the Central Committee report speaks openly about these. I believe everyone knows that here in the congressional hall, or, to be more precise, among the delegates, every class, working strata and, I could even say, every profession of our society, are represented. Among the delegates here are workers, professionals, employees, scientists, researchers, writers, publicists, workers in transport and retail trade, creative artists, representatives of the Armed Forces, and sports activities. However, there are no magicians and wizards here. No one should expect the delegates, who number just under 1,000, to bring about a miracle in this hall in the course of 4 days' work. We cannot bring about miracles. However, it is my view that our delegates and congress will honestly carry out the work that our party membership and our people can expect. In other words, that means that it should debate honestly and in a straightforward manner the work carried out over 5 years and take stock of the situation we are working in in a responsible and serious way.

By taking stock of the conditions in which we are working, it should responsibly determine the direction of further action and provide a program of work for our party membership and the working people building socialism.

In my view, the congress can carry out this work, and it is my profound conviction that it will do so. I wish every congress delegate success in achieving this.

The report is in the hands of the comrades. The document is the official report of the congress. I was given the task of making an opening address here, or, as it is usually called at party conferences, of opening the debate. I interpret this to mean that I do not have to give a second report; the way I understood the task entrusted to me by the Central Committee is that I should call the attention of the comrade delegates -- what is more, of everyone present here -- to certain questions that currently occupy our party membership, the people of the country and many of our friends, allies, and fellow fighters beyond our borders.

Dear comrades, our party is the revolutionary vanguard of the Hungarian working class, a Marxist-Leninist party and a patriotic and internationalist party. During the course of our history and as a result of our development, our party became the party of the people, the leading force of our society -- a task that we wish to fulfill with honor.

Our party considers it its duty -- because, after all, it cannot exist and work without this -- to pursue its activities in unison with the masses and on the basis of daily contacts. The leading thought and idea of our party is that it wants to gain with merit and with its historic struggles, the confidence of the Hungarian people, the working class and our working people, and it has complete confidence in and relies completely on our working class, our working peasantry, and on our entire working people. This is how it will be in the future as well.

Our party is led by solid convictions, but not by dogmas. Our party has also endeavored to find the correct socialist answer to new problems of development. As to what extent and how this has been achieved in the past 5 years, that is the task of the congress to decide. However, we consider a party solid on principles, circumspect and prudent in daily politics, and ready for renewal as the ideal, and this is what we strive for. Life goes on, and at more advanced levels of society new questions arise for which answers provided decades ago or even 10-20 years ago are not completely adequate and have to be renewed.

Just a few words about communists. Here in Hungary we have always strived to ensure that communists should be completely equal to all citizens. Communists have not demanded, are not demanding, and will not demand any more rights; however, they must not be at a disadvantage in comparison with all other citizens either, of course. Nevertheless, we believe that he who fights for socialism must take more responsibilities than the average citizen, while -- if possible -- he should use less in return than what is granted to him by law or by our conditions. This way we can preserve the moral, political prestige and honesty of the communists. The behavior of communists is characterized by unselfishness and the party itself and party membership should be free of all negative phenomena -- not a few of which are still to be found in the life of our society and against which it is the honorable duty of the party and communists to fight.

The party is naturally a living organism, which is developing and growing and it has grown during the past 5 years. Roughly speaking, the party's membership has increased by about 60,000 and it has exceeded 870,000. It is the Central Committee's judgment that when it comes to the acceptance of new members in the party, that is, the building of the party, statistics should never be the main criterion.

The definition of class-categories is clear but individual evaluation is needed in each case of accepting new members. Certainly, it is essential that an adequate proportion of workers and manual workers be represented in the party, something that will be solved in due course. We must strive to build the party further from among people honestly fulfilling their work, and perhaps it is unnecessary to stress, from among the ranks of the younger generation, of young people. The Central Committee has submitted the suggestions for changes in the Rules of Organization. In drawing out these suggestions we started from the fact that the current Rules of Organization have basically fulfilled their purpose, and there are no particular problems with that. But certain alterations are necessary -- as initiated by the central bodies -- simply because the structure of the party has changed. For example there are no more regional committees. This fact has to be shown also in the Rules of Organization. The document that is currently in force is basically acceptable and therefore the Central Committee decided that no debates will start about the Rules of Organization in the more than 25,000 basic organizations. The remarks that emerged during the debates on the guidelines must be considered. For example the fact that the rights and duties of party members have to be formulated more precisely than before. In the name of the Central Committee, I request that the submitted suggestions be debated and if agreed upon, be supported and accepted.

Dear comrades, the fundamental and decisive feature of social life in the Hungarian People's Republic is that this is a socialist country and a socialist society. In our country, exploitation of one man by another has been eliminated, the exploiting classes have disappeared. Classes still do exist in our country, but all these are working classes and unresolvable contradictions do not exist among the classes. The working classes of Hungary work together under the leadership of the working class and its party. The basis of our state is the worker-peasant alliance, and to this belongs the alliance with the intelligentsia and the alliance between communists and non-party members, the alliance of people with differing ideologies, including the religious and even clerical people, all those who can agree with the fundamental national goal, that of the construction of socialist society, and are ready to help in this.

This is the extremely important element in the policy of our party. Our aim up to now is the same today and will continue in the future, too, so that, as we used to say in the past, all resources of the nation and all creative forces are united and gathered in the socialist national unity which has evolved and which is strengthening and developing, which fundamentally decides the political features of Hungary. This is also our future political program. Our point of departure is that everybody who has the fate of the people in his heart, who wants the prosperity of the people, should join in the building work.

This is our policy and it is as a result of this that I can state here that the domestic political situation in Hungary is sound. This is an extremely important, maybe the most important characteristic of our country's current situation.

The reason I spoke of this issue first among the topics having to do with the internal political situation is that in Hungary a one-party system has developed historically and it will remain so. I would like to emphasize here that our party has, of course, come across this question many times in the course of its history; our opinion is -- taking the entire historical experience into consideration -- it seems to us that the one-party system is not a question of principle, but a practical question for the socialist societies, one which is decided by historical development in any given country.

Of the existing socialist countries, there are many where there are one-party systems, and currently there are several socialist countries as well where several political parties function and I, for my own part, consider that in the future stages of socialist world development, the number of these is likely to increase even further.

There is a one-party system here. Taking this also into consideration, an emphatic thesis of the policy pursued by our party is the further development of the democratization of society, or, as we call it, of socialist democracy. This is necessary: In principle and politically, the entire socialist work of construction depends not least on this, on how we can deepen and develop socialist democracy in the future.

I think perhaps the first element of this can be what I have already mentioned -- something that we never renounce -- the further strengthening of the direct links between the party and the masses. Another very important line of development is represented by the independent, further work of the mass organizations -- trade union, KISZ, and other mass organizations and mass movements -- present and functioning in the social and political life of the Hungarian People's Republic, work which well fulfills the purpose of these organizations.

I must include here the further development of the work of the PPF. The PPF, as you know, is a mass movement here; in other words, it has no individual membership. However, it is a very important, living organization in whose system of committees hundreds of thousands combine, join forces, and carry out daily work for the benefit of the construction of socialism. They can deal with many socially important issues directly and effectively, even in spheres where the party cannot work so directly and effectively.

The fundamental goal is the further strengthening of socialist national unity, the involvement of people who want to be socially active, young people, in political work, but never forgetting the goal, nor the fact that among the member organizations of the PPF, the first, the founding member is the revolutionary party of the working class, the MSZMP.

A further venue on the path of developing socialist democracy is to devote even greater attention within the party to the possibilities that exist in the independence of the councils, factories, and institutions. When in 1968 we introduced the new system of economic management, which is a system of indirect management, as a one-time practicing local party functionary, I was very glad because it is clear to me that the party, trade union and KISZ working locally, in the factories, can work truly effectively, beyond supporting the general policy, to the extent to which questions are decided on the spot.

This is where the particular task of the party and the social organizations lies, namely to realize a certain policy, a certain economic policy, a certain social policy, to call it by that name, within the framework of the independent, local decisionmaking of the factories. Naturally, in the appropriate way and with the appropriate methods.

The new form of enterprise management that we are now gradually introducing and will later introduce in a wider sphere will provide help for the further development of socialist democracy; It will once again strengthen the voice and power of the local collective. By the way, let me mention, because it has occurred to me, that this new form of enterprise management should not be taken by anyone to mean that we have introduced anarchy in the factories, or that we are introducing anarchy there; on the contrary, for the manager this represents dependence on the collective, and when the day comes, let the manager worry a little about what his collective thinks of him. However, in daily life it is the manager who directs the work; there can be no argument about this. It is important to do this correctly from the beginning, so that this method can be used later on a larger scale. On the path of developing democracy, the implementation of the new election law during the June general elections will be a very important test of our policy. We must do everything in order to assist the development of socialist democracy with our elections.

It is important and possible that thousands and millions of our workers participate in making decisions, in making sure they are properly implemented, and in fashioning their own destinies. We are deeply convinced that this fact is the right way in strengthening our system politically. The Central Committee considers -- and I believe this belief is shared by the congress as well -- that our nation has political maturity and we can trust it. It is certain that under the theoretical and principled leadership of the party and with the assistance of the executive bodies, the nation is able to enforce the advantages of socialist society, to develop creative work, and to strengthen law and order, in order to eliminate disorder -- which is completely opposite to our socialist theory and our society's goals -- to eliminate bureaucracy, corruption, fraud, and profiteering.

Dear comrades, the 12th party congress, held 5 years ago, advocated a difficult and strict program. The congress, among economic issues, put as first priority the goal of improving the tight international balance of payment. This required, among other things that the rate of production development be set at a lower level, while the maximum program for the living standard policy be maintained at the level achieved so far. Our Central Committee highly appreciates the fact that our workers class and our working people have understood this difficult program and supported it with deeds. What have we achieved in this respect? First of all we managed to improve the international balance of payment. The circumstances were not very favorable for the achievement of this goal. The international economic conditions further deteriorated and became even more difficult for us than we estimated. In 1982 we had serious trouble in maintaining Hungary's solvency, but we did manage to maintain the country's solvency. An extraordinary number of things depended on this, for if we hadn't succeeded it would have had very unpleasant effects on the country's position and on the life of our people. It has been possible to maintain, and well, through hard efforts, the total debt has also been successfully reduced by some 15 percent during these years.

Production in industry -- I can speak responsibly about the data for 4 years only, that is 1980-84 inclusive. Industrial production has so far grown by 10.2 percent, agricultural production has grown by 12.4 percent, and a development appropriate for this took place in the spheres of trade and transport. The national income successfully increased by some 8.5 percent from the 1980 congress through the end of 1984.

We are now in 1985. This achievement has not yet fulfilled the goal of the 12th congress, it only approaches it, but 1985 is still open and it partly depends on the goal-seeking and serious work for the fulfillment of the 1985 plan so that we can draw even closer to the main objectives of the 12th congress and, if possible, fulfill them in the sphere of economic work.

Let us say something about the basics of the Hungarian people's economy. Those present know that in our country the basis of economic management is the socialist foundation. Almost all means of production are in socialist, state, and cooperative ownership; there is a socialist planned economic management in our country, the country has its own people's economic plan, all economic units have their own 5-year plans, that is, there is planned economic management here together with the tools of indirect administrative direction and by taking into account the laws of the market. This is the main characteristic of our economic management, and it seems that this is the correct one and that this is the road that has to be followed in the future as well.

This is our system of management, about which we can say that it has been functioning for 16 years and, indeed, it has been functioning effectively. In the recent past, the party Central Committee and executive organs dealt with the experiences of those 16 years. While retaining the most important aspects of this system of management, and with certain modifications, we are now striving to develop it further. The goal is to ensure that the system of management can help socialist construction work even better than has been possible up to now.

As I have said, our people's economy has achieved very considerable results over the past 5 years, achievements that are not to be belittled. What may appear to be modest in terms of statistics has been achieved amidst conditions which in reality make them results of great value which are to be appreciated. At the same time, we have plenty of problems, of which we have always spoken openly. What is the source of the problems? Primarily we have moved from the extensive to the intensive phase. This is a gigantic step forward; indeed, it is a decisive step. After all, in the extensive phase we still had at our disposal, so to speak, free resources. In all honesty, let us add that in that phase, we were dealing with the satisfaction of needs at a stage when it did not matter how much the product cost, what it looked like, what its quality was like. All that mattered was that we should have it.

Well, that phase has come to an end once and for all. What is needed now is a combination of effective economic management and products of a good quality both for domestic consumption and in our international economic activity. That is the main characteristic of the intensive phase. A part is played in implementing this difficult task by the external economic environment, which is not very favorable for us. However, we cannot do anything about that.

During the course of the debate that prepared the congress, and throughout the country, the size of enterprises is, naturally, a question of debate. Other disputed matters are the various work collectives and the activities of certain private artisans and small entrepreneurs. Here I would rather draw the attention of the congress to the fact that the main issue for us is to lend an impetus in our country to efficient production on the basis of socialism. In other words, we should learn to maximize the use of the means of production, labor, materials, and energy and produce goods of appropriate quality.

Full and efficient employment are joined together for us. Full employment is the great achievement of the socialist system. We will keep this, as it is one of the consequential peculiarities of our system. However, this full employment should be defined in such a way that it is of equal value that labor should be employed efficiently. It should be where it is required, where it can give the most benefit to the country, society, the people, and the worker himself.

Economic activity continues to be a fundamental form of activity for us communists and for the supporters of socialism. After all, the material prerequisites for all the other forms of our development are based on this. In the struggle of the different social systems, if we can also demonstrate in the economic field that socialist society is on a higher level and can produce more from the means available to it than capitalism, then this amounts to a strategic victory.

Now about the standard of living, if you will allow me. The implementation of the relevant decision of the 12th congress shows the following: real incomes have increased by 6 percent, and the population's consumption had also increased by 6 percent up to the end of 1984. Living conditions, that is, housing, transport, health, services, culture, and others, have improved in the past few years. The 40 hour week has been introduced in industry and in the construction industry. Unfortunately, real wages have fallen. In connection with pensions and social benefits in general, it has to be said that the value of these have not been completely successfully maintained.

The task of maintaining the already achieved standard of living that was set for us by the 12th congress was not completely realized by us. The standard of living of certain social strata did not improve, but deteriorated in past years. My honor demands that I say this. The 1985 plan prescribes certain improvements already. We are prescribing a 2.5 to 2.8 percent increase in national income for 1 year, which is a step forward in comparison with earlier years.

To arrest the further reduction of real wages: this is the aim of the 1985 plan and also prescribes a certain improvement in living standards.

However, I must stop here for a second. Comrades, we can say now that it is historical experience that a harmonious development of socialism can only be assured if, in the area of developing living standards and living conditions, we only use and distribute those things that have already been created. This is a historic experience. The momentum of the work of building also demands that earnings increase in proportion to the work carried out and that social benefits go to those who need them.

During the course of the debates for the congress, great stress was placed on the fact that -- and it wasn't only the pensioners who said, the workers also said, and even the young workers -- we must deal with the pensioners' situation. Also, the situation of youth. But, comrades, the situation here is that we have this country with 10.5 million people and 5 million workers and the number of pensioners and people on social benefit is approximately 2.3 million. If we keep going on the global path, we will not be just, neither will we help where there is a real need for help. The 2.3 million pensioners and people on benefit are not in an identical situation, everyone knows this, that they are not in an identical situation. If there are two, three, four, five earners in one family, and if someone recently retired, then they are in a completely different situation from the person who is entirely on his own, who is old, sick, and cannot provide a supplementary income for himself.

So, comrades, we must make sure that people in real need are really given something and that we make a real improvement in the situation of these people. This requires a survey, the working out of a system, but this is unavoidable.

The issue is almost the same for youth. This youth issue has evolved in our country, in our politics, in such a way that we call youth an all-round population of the country, because there is a later development for students, so that the whole problem has been handed over to KISZ up to the age of 35, and the concern left to them about young people starting out in their careers. This is not the right way. When an apprentice finishes his studies, when he becomes skilled, that person is a whole human being in full adulthood who has complete responsibility within the society of working people and is in a different situation from a 23 year-old who is still studying.

So we must have a look here to see that social conditions are not identical for young people, that those we refer to as being at the beginning of their careers are not in a completely identical situation either. We know rather wealthy families where it is no great problem to get younger people started in life. There are some young people at the outset of their careers who do not have this sort of family background, they don't have any direct help.

So it is primarily these young people who should be helped among those starting their careers. Those who are in real need of it, and these should get noticeable help.

Talking about questions of the living standard and social issues, I would like to add that when considering all this, we can rely on 40 years of historical experience. The conclusion is that the sequence of our actions in dealing with the issues of living standard and social affairs was not correct. The wage increases and the allowances came sooner than the creation of material provisions for social benefits and wage increases. We have been fighting with this problem of creating a suitable situation in this field for a decade.

Of course, it is clear that after its liberation a suppressed and tortured nation would have liked to have had everything soon or at once. And if we look back even further, we see that in 1918-1919 industrial workers had been fighting around the world for the so-called three 8's.

Many people know this demand in history: 8 hours work, 8 hours entertainment, and 8 hours sleep. At that time -- at the beginning of 1919 -- Dezso Bokanyi, the excellent workers leader, was caught in a flight of oratory at one meeting and said: Now we will fight for our rights: There will be 8 hours rest, 8 hours entertainment, and 8 hours sleep. This was followed by frenetic applause and then silence. A voice from the back asked: When do we work? Bokanyi, being a very good orator, immediately replied: You have already worked enough....

In this way we certainly cannot advance. It also has to be honestly said that during the post-liberation years, while engaged in political struggle with the bourgeois parties, everybody made promises and bid for work competitions. We communists were not innocent of this either. We declared rights and allowances that we could not guarantee, because during the inflation in the first 1 and 1/2 years industrial workers worked for practically a kilo of potatoes a day. So it was not possible to fulfill the declared rights; and unfortunately, this practice continued even later.

And our historical experience is that it must not be done this way. The guarantee of steady development is that we first create the material base and then distribute, not vice versa.

Our achievements are not meager. We do have full employment and respectable living standards in Hungary. We are striving to create morally equal opportunities in schooling and in career decisionmaking, in addition to securing equal rights for our people. Our aims are clear. We want to achieve higher living standards and better living conditions but on a more firm and secure basis.

Dear comrades, our constant principle is: Socialism and science are allies. There can be no question about the construction of socialism without the cooperation of scientists and without the practical utilization of the results of scientific work. However, we are convinced and also profess that socialism does provide the necessary working conditions for scientists, including the freedom of scientific research. Socialism counts on the great help of those working in sociology, natural sciences, technical sciences and in all branches of science. We continue to consider it our task to preserve the freedom of research, but we demand -- and work for this -- that science and practice stand in closer relationship than they were before. Practice has to enrich scientific research, and the latter has to consider the demands of practice. And political work particularly needs the help of researchers of Marxist theory and of those working in historical science.

The scientific processing of our nation's history is also an important task. We can often hear true and false statements about important questions of history, about identity. We expect, first of all, a scientific and Marxist-Leninist analysis of Hungarian history. Only then will we be able to clarify certain issues to adults, and only thus will we enrich the historical knowledge of young people. The researchers should not only be excited by the mysteries of the fifties, but also by the important steps and subjects of our modern history, like the 1919 Hungarian Republic of Councils. They should also be concerned with the questions of how our best people fought against the Horthy system, what the communists working illegally achieved, and what the trade union activists and other progressively thinking people did in the battles against fascism. The 40 years since the liberation have raised many exciting and interesting questions which must be answered not only for the young people, but for the older ones as well.

With regard to the ideological education of the youth, the party and all responsible components of our society are facing great tasks. They all have to play a part in the worldwide ideological battle fought by the social systems, especially because the imperialists are conducting widespread antisocial propaganda, against which we have to stand firmly.

We expect scientific researchers to help formulate new answers to the new questions arising from the construction of socialism, in other words, that they should work on the theoretical generalization of practical experiences.

Well, the history of our party and people has been rather complicated and stormy in our century; it has accumulated numerous experiences, but this is not enough. I would adhere here, too, to the view, that was expressed, if my memory is correct, at the 26th CPSU Congress, in the framework of the Central Committee report there, that there are many socialist countries now, which are searching for paths toward building socialism; for us, the experiences of all the socialist countries is a common treasure and we must utilize them.

In this ideological struggle must participate the educational institutions and all the propaganda organs such as radio, television, movies, theaters, and all other institutions that form public opinion. They must represent, advocate, and propagate our ideology, and they must prevent the spreading of bourgeois, reactionary, anti-social, and anticommunist views. They must carry out high quality and responsible work, so that they can achieve the appropriate results. The party and the communists, in addition to the socialist ideals and party policy, must represent ethics as well. Among these respect for work must be promoted, as well as humanism. We have to adopt a resolute attitude to any means of propagating violence and to outdated and old fashioned ideas infiltrating from the West. We must eliminate obscenity from public life, literature, culture, press and television.

The question of our language is a separate problem. I do not know how to interpret that old truth defined by poets that a nation lives by its language. I think that if it can be accepted as true of any nation, then it is true of the Hungarian nation that it can be thankful for its language that it has survived as Hungarian in this territory for 1,100 years. So we should guard our language. If anything needs to be made a cult of, then it should not be violence, but the honest good family life, the cult of the mother and child.

Our thinking and ideological concepts are the true ideologies of the present and the ideologies and morals of the future as well, and this will triumph in our society as well as in the entire world, I think.

Let me just briefly touch on the program of action. In any case and first of all, the strengthening of the socialist feature of our society, the overwhelming of perversities contrary to this, the unbroken continuation of the building of socialism, the construction of an advanced socialist society; this is our program. We have the strength for this, and this is also the strength of the socialist system constructed with solid foundations in our country, and in our economy's development, and last but not the least, the exemplary steadfastness of our people shown in our struggle against difficulties, throughout decades.

Now, the Seventh 5-Year Plan, which begins on 1 January next year -- I can only refer to it as being at a certain stage of preparation and I can only show preliminary figures -- is being worked out to follow a line that constantly focuses on the questions of balancing the people's economy as a primary condition, a gradual enlivening program that develops economic production as promised by this planning work as it stands today. The outlines of certain figures too, are beginning to take shape: it appears that in the next 5-year plan the growth of the national income by 14-17 percent, of industrial production by 13-16 percent, of agricultural branch production by 12-14 percent, and that of internal consumption by 13-16 percent can be envisaged.

This program means that we should make lasting improvements in the external balance of the economy, that we should give an impetus to technical progress and development. This new, Seventh 5-Year Plan serves the perceptible raising of the standard of living. We have the means; we have internal reserves, comrades, in every sphere as well as the better utilization of the available means of production and workforce; in other words, we must mobilize our internal reserves.

Our resources include CEMA, and we want to make real progress within its framework to better utilize the possibilities for cooperation, because there are still great reserves in this area as well, in the spirit of the resolutions of the most recent high-level discussions.

There are also the following resources: I am pleased to speak of the fact that the program for the development of economic, technical-scientific cooperation up to the year 2000 between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union has already been put together. The process is nearing its end and will be signed in early April. This is also a secure support and represents a source of possibilities, the fulfillment of our plans.

Now, let me speak about international issues. The international activities of our party and government are determined by our principles, and on every question the point of departure is the fundamental interests of our people and, let me add, our foreign policy and international activities enjoy the full support of our people.

Our people want peace; we regard our main task as the defense and strengthening of peace. The international situation is tense at the present time; the United States and NATO are endeavoring to achieve a superiority in strength. This is impermissible. The countries and peoples of the Warsaw Pact are interested in this so that we can live in peace, so that we can protect our socialist achievements. However, we are convinced that it is in the interest of all the peoples of the world that the imperialists not be able to attain superiority in strength. There are too many nuclear weapons on earth, in the oceans, and in the air. No one needs them extended to outer space as well. We are resolutely against such views.

Our principled position is that a new world war is no longer unavoidable. We believe that in disputed international issues, the path of negotiations must be followed. It is necessary to find forms of possible agreement that provide equal security for each side at a lower level of armaments. In our opinion, this first step could be realized, so that it should be possible to later work for further goals, for the elimination of nuclear weapons and for total disarmament, because this is what humanity needs.

We believe in the principle of peaceful coexistence and are in favor of the development of mutually advantageous relations between countries with different social systems. We state, on a principled basis, in line with the principles and political convictions that guide us, that exporting revolution is not possible and is unnecessary, nor can we tolerate or permit the export of counterrevolution either.

The development and shaping of the social system is the right of every people, and this must be manifested.

We support the idea that the normal development of relations between countries with different social systems should be accompanied by a peaceful struggle in which their historic struggle can be decided. In accordance with that, we welcome the Soviet-U.S. talks that opened in Geneva. We support actions of strengthening peace and security in Europe, and attach great importance to the Stockholm conference. Our country is also carrying out intensive activity in this respect. We participate in the Geneva disarmament conference and also in the Vienna talks.

This year, the European Cultural Forum will be held in this very hall. This will represent another stage in the Helsinki process. We strive for the success of this meeting, too. We support negotiations and the preservation and development of relations, as well as reaching agreements in every international dispute or question that has to be solved. In the current international situation, the Warsaw Pact member-countries must attend to their defense and in accordance with this we are ensuring that in our country the defense forces are kept at an appropriate level. We fulfill our duty as a Warsaw Pact member-country. We must safeguard the peace of our people and our socialist achievements against anybody, and everybody must know it, so that they should not fall into temptation.

The Warsaw Pact advised NATO that the two organizations should be simultaneously dismantled. The Warsaw Pact suggested 2 years ago that the countries within the two systems should sign an agreement on nonrecourse to the use or threat of force. We have not received an answer to these very important suggestions -- which are still valid. We are ready to sign a document regarding this issue. In the current situation, we, the Hungarian People's Republic, are in favor of extending the Warsaw Treaty. What will happen in several decades' time will be decided by the people living at that time. In the present age, the extension of the term of the Warsaw Treaty is unconditionally necessary and correct. We support this and are prepared to sign it.

Let me mention here that the leaders of the delegations from the Warsaw Pact member-states who were present in Moscow on 13 March held a meeting there. It was a good substantive consultation, during which we took a stand in favor of further cooperation and a broadening of our relations. Our stand was also identical on extending the Warsaw Treaty.

The Hungarian People's Republic declares its solidarity with the forces of progress, with the parties and movements fighting for social progress throughout the world, and with peoples struggling for national liberation. We are prepared to join hands with all the supporters of peace, including those bourgeois political factions that understand that there is no other way for humankind than the maintenance of relations and talks and agreements on issues of mutual interest.

In accordance with that, we endeavor to have normal relations with all countries, including the United States and the other leading NATO countries, as long as they respect our rights and treat us in an appropriate manner in the shaping of these relations.

We are endeavoring to be loyal allies of our allies, true friends of our friends, and correct partners of our partners. That has been the case up to now, and we will endeavor to maintain this in the future. Everyone can deal with the Hungarian People's Republic in this way.

Speaking about international issues, I would like to mention here that the victory of the anti-fascist coalition over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism in World War II will be widely celebrated in the near future. That also reminds us that in those days, in a fateful situation, the responsible leaders of countries with different social systems succeeded in reaching agreement. To the good fortune of humankind, they joined together and cooperated well in the struggle waged against fascism. We include here the Yalta and Potsdam conferences; the Yalta conference also well served the victory and final crushing of fascism and the Potsdam conference provided good service to renewing life in Europe, which was in ruins at the time.

Responsible leaders should follow the example of the anti-fascist coalition regardless of their countries' different social systems.

Every people should join together to combat the threat of war endangering humankind and in the interest of the solution of other problems affecting the whole of humankind, such as the protection of the environment, and so on. We are consistently continuing our domestic policy. We will further strengthen our cooperation with the fraternal communist parties, with all progressive forces, and show solidarity with all peoples who fight for their freedom, and strive for cooperation with every movement, party, and country which is ready for it, too.

Finally, as it has occurred during the course of the preparatory work for the congress, I would also like to commemorate the 40th anniversary of our liberation. On 4 April 1945, the Soviet Army liberated the entire territory of Hungary from the Hitlerite-fascist occupying forces, and through this, Hungary regained its sovereignty and became a free country. At the same time, as an outcome of the battles, the power and system of the capitalists and landlords collapsed, as it was they themselves who tied their fate to Hitlerite-fascism. Forty years ago, our people got back on their feet, and although battles were still being waged throughout the country, in Debrecen the National Independence Front was established and the Provisional National Assembly and the Provisional Government set up, which declared war on Hitlerite-fascism with full justice and with the people's backing.

Remembering this, we do not forget the sacrifices made by the USSR and its heroes who brought freedom to our people. Nor do we forget the sacrifices of the Bulgarian, Yugoslav, Romanian, and other sons of the anti-fascist coalition who participated in the battles waged for the liberation of Hungary. We also remember with respect our true comrades fighting at home against the fascists and on almost all fronts in Europe, and the Hungarian patriots, the Hungarian resistance fighters. To all those who helped the Hungarian people in their liberation we are grateful and we thank them, and can state that the Hungarian people were able to make use of their liberty. The working class and the people gained power and created the Hungarian People's Republic, which has a socialist society.

We have 40 difficult years behind us. In those decades we had to clean up the ruins of the war, start life, defeat inflation, and fight the struggle for power. However, these years were also the ones in which we witnessed the severe period of the distortion of socialist norms and principles, and then there was the deep social crisis that started in Hungary in the summer of 1953, culminated in the counterrevolution of 1956, and concluded in the summer of 1957. These 40 years are also part of the political, economic, and cultural activity for stabilization. In the course of these 4 decades, our people have overcome many obstacles and caught up with centuries of backwardness. Our country has become an industrial state with a developed agriculture.

This is the true history and main achievement of the 40 years; this is the historic deed of the Hungarian people which has survived historical tragedies and which has been carrying out epoch-making changes. Our party is proud that the communists have always been at the forefront of this struggle and have made many sacrifices.

Some facts and data well reflect the results of the construction work of these 4 decades. I will compare the figures to 1938, the last so-called peacetime year. National income is more than six times higher today than in 1938. Industrial production has increased 14 times and agricultural production is double compared to 1938. Today 98 percent of dwellings have electricity compared to 1938, when only 27 percent of houses had electricity. Number of dwellers per hundred rooms in 1938 was 253; today there are 138 people per hundred rooms. In 1938 there were only 19,000 automobiles, while today there are 1,344,000 automobiles -- only for private use -- that is, one-third of the families have a private automobile. In 1938, 200,000 Hungarian tourists traveled abroad, while last year there were 5,400,000.

In 1938 only a minor part of the population had the right to a pension, while today, under adequate conditions, every person is eligible, that is, 21 percent of the population receives a pension. Today, for 10,000 inhabitants we have three times more physicians than in 1938.

We are justified in stating that the struggle of our party, workers class, and people was not waged in vain. Only a people who gained their freedom and started out on the road of building socialism were capable of achieving such great development, a people who enjoyed the support of the international progressive forces in their struggle.

We are convinced that we can look forward to the future by joining and increasing our efforts. We will achieve our goals, we will fulfill our plans, we will build the developed socialist society, and we will develop our country, socialist Hungary.

On behalf of the Central Committee I request that you debate and adopt or support the report of the Central Committee, the amended text of the statutes and the proposed resolution, and I respectfully ask the 13th congress of our party to declare: We continue and strengthen our main political line.

Long life the MSZMP and its 13th congress!

Long live the socialist-building Hungarian people!

Long live proletarian internationalism and peoples friendship!

Long live socialism and peace!

Andras Gyenes

AU301415 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Mar 85 pp 5-6

[Speech by Andras Gyenes, MSZMP Central Control Committee chairman at the 25 March session of the 13th MSZMP Congress: "On the Report of the Central Control Committee"]

[Text] Esteemed congress, dear comrades:

The comrades have received the report of the Central Control Committee [CCC] together with the rest of the congressional documents. In the report, we gave an account of the work we have performed and the main experience we have obtained in the course of our activity, and we are making proposals concerning the most important tasks. On behalf of our body, I would like to make a few supplementary remarks to the report.

Beforehand, I would like to express our agreement with the report of the Central Committee and the statements made by Comrade Janos Kadar in his speech. We agree with the recommendations concerning a modification of the organizational rules and recommend that these be accepted. We regard the submitted draft resolution as a suitable -- following the debate and the decision of the congress -- potential guide for action in our tasks over the forthcoming period.

Our Party Is United, It Is Fulfilling Its Leading Role

Comrades, in the period covered by the report, the CCC worked together with the leading party bodies. It was one with the political guideline represented by the Central Committee in accordance with the resolution of the 12th party congress.

The CCC is of the opinion that this political line is good, has stood the test, and has been verified by experience and life. Constancy and change, the faithful retention of principled foundations, and a Marxist-Leninist grasp of new phenomena are fused together in this policy.

This policy was able to differentiate between those concepts and solutions that truly further social progress and those that openly appeared to do so.

The party acted successfully against any intention, no matter from which side it appeared, that sought to place thought and action in a narrow set of dogmas. The party adhered to the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, our proven principles and practice, and the enrichment of the socialist hallmarks of our society. It did not allow anyone to brand these foundations and principles as outdated and backward or to dispense with them as outmoded just for change's sake. At the same time it judged new things with a critical eye, but also with the necessary sensitivity, and encouraged and supported everything that promotes our cause.

Adjusting to changing conditions and avoiding extremes, the party set its goals and mobilized all followers of socialism to achieve them. The CCC proposes that the congress recognize this policy, support it, and confirm it for the coming period, too.

We have also pointed out in our written report that our party is homogeneous and fulfills its leading role. This is confirmed by the achievements reported to the congress by the Central Committee. The essence of it is that, in spite of numerous difficulties and problems, we have preserved the stability of our society and enriched our socialist achievements with new values.

All this was possible because there is a basic order in our party, and the overwhelming majority of the party members implement their tasks in a disciplined way. The party considered it its natural obligation to inform and persuade the party members to discuss the tasks carried out, to harmonize activity, and encourage uniform implementation.

The party was aware of the fact that more complex circumstances and new tasks require to an even greater extent the renewal of party unity on all important issues and the consistent maintenance of discipline.

Party organs and organizations and party members have been facing great trials recently. We are living in a time when one learns quickly who is capable of steadfastness and action and to what extent, and how strong his loyalty to the party is. Our party organs, organizations, and our party members, as a whole are standing the trial well. Everything that can be regarded as an achievement is to a great extent due to the party members' steadfastness in politics, public life, and at the workplace.

The Leninist principle of democratic centralism has also been asserted in our party during the period covered by the report. We all know that ensuring this is the fundamental issue of party order, of development of party work, and of the efficient operation of party leadership. The democratic atmosphere within the party creates and shapes the democracy of the whole society. Party democracy and party discipline are indivisible. The responsible and wide-ranging expressions of opinions prior to decisionmaking, and disciplined action following a decision are indispensable conditions for the implementation of decisions. It is the party members' indisputable right to be able to express their opinion on our common matters, to take a stand, and it is their fundamental responsibility to take a stand in favor of decisions and to participate in their implementation.

In the opinion of the Central Control Committee, the great majority of party members fulfill their obligations. They are taking an active part in shaping and implementing our policy. At the same time, it must also be pointed out that discipline of party members has improved more slowly than required and was possible. The Central Committee decision of April 1983 had already reached a conclusion, and now the documents of the congress also show that a certain laxity and other unfavorable phenomena are present in this respect, too. We cannot make a secret of the fact that certain party members have lost heart because of the shortcomings of political work and well-known difficulties, while others have become indifferent due to lack of appropriate help. There are also members who have turned away from the party.

Analyzing the causes, we must note that a section of the party membership does not always recognize and is not always capable of following the accelerated changes in the life of our society. Their own preparedness, as well as the guidance and persuasion of these members is not always satisfactory.

Recognition of this situation presents us with the task of ensuring that political education and agitation deal at the right time and sufficiently promptly with the necessity for significant changes and their implications, with the background of party and government decisions, and with the anticipated effects of measures taken.

Clear information and the improvement of persuasion and education activity are indispensable for party members to better know, understand, and accept the party's intention and the essence of decisions. With this we can promote among other things, the firmer adoption of a position in favor of the policy, the strengthening of participation in actions, and the acceptance and consistent fulfillment of the party members' obligations.

Esteemed comrades, the party and the Hungarian people have achieved considerable results in the construction of socialist society. It transpires from the Central Committee report that, although more slowly than earlier, we have advanced since the 12th congress. We can be proud of the achievements of the Hungarian people attained under the leadership of our party. For all this, appreciation and respect are due to all who took upon themselves the bulk of the work.

Obviously, our achievements would be more considerable if we had fewer problems, if everybody, but mainly those working in responsible positions strove with greater determination to strengthen order and discipline and improve the standard of activity in all areas.

Order and Discipline Are the Conditions for Independence

Independence, readiness for initiatives, and a creative attitude are playing a particularly important role in the current phase of our development and in our society. Today, this has already become a natural demand in every important working area. Not everyone, however, can fulfill this requirement. There are people who misinterpret the opening up of the desired capacities and possibilities given by increased independence, and who are unable to harmonize this with a disciplined and responsible attitude.

The opinion of the CCC is that good results can emerge only where there is order, where everyone knows what his obligations are. Therefore, every community, its leaders, party members and nonmembers can say that they have adequately made use of the possibilities of independence, creative work, and initiative, only if they do this in a disciplined and responsible way, if they do not for a moment lose sight of the interests and goals of socialist society and the requirements of defending and developing socialist property.

Lack of care, random measures, confusion, and erroneous decisions based on wishful thinking rather than reality are by no means a rare phenomenon. The loser in irresponsible risk-taking is always the entire society.

The CCC had to deal with many cases of this nature. Such cases occurred in industry, agriculture, the construction industry, and in other areas as well. The common characteristic of these cases is that managers of the economic units concerned embarked upon ventures exceeding their abilities and possibilities, without adequate knowledge of the circumstances and without sufficiently circumspect deliberation. To embark upon such ventures is already irresponsibility in itself. To make matters worse, they organized work badly and did not supervise it. Thus, laxity and irresponsibility emerged that led to damage worth millions.

When the CCC examined one of these cases, in addition to uncovering mistakes and the party's severe punishment of the leaders, it obliged the authorities in question to draw the necessary conclusions. Following this, everyone would think that those involved in the matter learned their lessons. Unfortunately this is not so. Although the leaders were dismissed and punished, and the leaders of the ministry guiding the enterprise were forced to take measures, the same mistake was repeated in the same place, only this time in a much more severe form.

Order and discipline serve the implementation of our social and political aims. Irresponsibility and laxity hinder the implementation of these targets. Supervision and reporting back are the necessary concomitants of order and discipline. Their means and methods have developed, but their efficiency and success leave much to be desired. We are arguing with the opinion that supervision and reporting back are a superfluous means of assistance, recognition of results, uncovering of shortcomings, and elimination of mistakes. The view according to which supervision is only an inconvenience hindering work, or even an embarrassment, is wrong.

Our position is that supervision is equally indispensable in the party, in society, in work, and in management. Those who undertake a role in any position in the guidance of our society also have to undertake the obligation to report back on their work, and not only accept supervision of their activity, but also demand it, and they themselves should be engaged in supervision. Supervision is not only a means of progress, but also an indispensably important element of our society's democracy.

On the Struggle Against Undesirable Phenomena

Esteemed congress, in the period covered by the report, we have made efforts to curb phenomena foreign to our society. These efforts have results. We are, however, far from being able to say that we have succeeded in eliminating corruption, bribery, hoarding, and the various forms of income achieved without work. These phenomena also affected party members. It also happens that such offenses are committed by party members. Society condemns income attained without work or not proportionate to work, trickery, speculation, and getting rich this way. It is justified in condemning these, because our socialist principles are harmed if high-standard work and outstanding achievements are not given adequate social and material appreciation. The principle of distribution according to work done is not yet implemented consistently enough, and this has an adverse influence on the value-judgment of society and an unfavorable effect on work discipline, too.

Bribes, gratuities, favors for services, and patronage have not decreased. On the contrary, new forms have developed. Many people wrongly believe that we cannot do anything against these phenomena because they are inevitable aspects of our development. We do not agree with this. We believe that it is possible to reduce and curb these phenomena by a more precise formulation of regulations, improving supervision, strengthening educational work, more consistent application of the possibilities provided by law, and by a stricter calling to account.

The firm position of the party is that we have to take a stand in due time against undesirable phenomena; corrupt practices have to be exposed and the perpetrators have to be called to account. In spite of this, we often see that offenders are excused, their mistakes are minimized, and the calling to account is postponed. This is a serious mistake and even more than that: It is a crime -- an act that disintegrates the strength of our society, weakens its law and order, endangers the many decades of our society's confidence in our party, confidence that represents the firm basis of our policy.

Occasionally, interdependence, the unprincipled linkage of interests hinder calling someone to account. Unfortunately, there are numerous examples of this. Let me mention only one of them.

We recently investigated abuses made by the manager of a factory in the provinces. We found an extraordinary case where a manager, hoping for considerable material benefits, relocated one of the factory's workshops to his own land and passed it into the hands of a business work partnership outside the factory. He was able to do this because people trusted him. They did not supervise him; they regarded him as an outstanding leader, and decorated him. I will not even list his other offenses, but I will mention the fact that 15 party members in leading positions, including ministerial and state officials, received illegal benefits and minor or major financial gains through favors from the manager.

Through his act, the manager caused considerable moral, political, and material damage. And so did his subordinates involved in the case. We have punished the responsible people; we have made them pay back the unjustified benefits; the state authority organs have dismissed several of them from their position and made them answer for their actions in court. The affair had numerous lessons with regard to party work, state guidance, the shortcomings of supervision, enterprise activity and communist steadfastness, too. We are afraid that the necessary conclusions have not been adequately drawn everywhere from this case, either.

Naturally, no generalization must be made from individual cases. Our economic managers are not characterized by such an attitude. They are honest, decent, and unselfish people, who play a major part in the results achieved. They have to be protected from any false and unjust generalizations. Those who prove to be unworthy of the leading position they hold have to be removed and called to strict account.

Material losses caused by abuses are not to be dismissed either, but the moral and political damage caused by offenders is much greater than this. I brought the above-mentioned example before the congress because there is a lesson to be drawn from it and which warns us to make greater efforts in order to prevent any such similar cases.

The Party Members Should Set an Example

The duties of party members include setting an example in the observation of civil discipline, and they should respect our laws and fulfill their commitments at work with honesty. The overwhelming majority of the party have fulfilled this requirement.

However, there were also party members in the past 5 years who acted against our laws. Nevertheless, it is encouraging that, compared to previous years, their number is decreasing. While the number of citizens who violate laws and regulations has increased in recent years, the proportion and number of party members among them has considerably decreased.

We mentioned in our report that the majority of party members were convicted for violating traffic rules because their behavior lacked carefulness, circumspection, and responsibility toward others. There were people who violated customs and currency laws. In their trips abroad they were motivated not only by the desire to get acquainted with foreign countries, but also by petty-minded selfishness, and greed. Experience shows that, in spite of favorable changes, there is still work to be done to strengthen respect for the law also among the party members.

Partly because of the above-mentioned case, and partly to give a uniform interpretation of an often recurring issue, I would like to draw attention to the following: It is well known that when someone requests admission to the party he voluntarily accepts the greater requirements inherent in party membership. However, people repeatedly ask: If a party member is blamed for violating our laws, why does he have to give a separate account of his deed before the party, too? The answer is simple: The party member is also a citizen to whom civil discipline applies in the same way as to anyone else. He is responsible before the law in this capacity. The party calls to account its own requirements for its members. Among these requirements there is respect for the laws -- more than that, their exemplary observation. Therefore, there is no double punishment at issue even if the communists have to give account for their deeds in two places. We must not change this practice in the future, either.

Party members have to set an example at work, too. This is also expected of them by their surroundings. The majority of party members fulfill this expectation. This is proved by their results in which -- as I have already mentioned -- the diligence and honest work of party members play a determining role. Therefore, if a party member violates work discipline, this carries particular weight.

Political and moral damage is caused if party members do their job in a negligent or poor way, be it in an office, institution, or factory. This is even more true and has an especially harmful effect if somebody in a leading body does not carry out his obligations, or if he does not do everything for the undisturbed implementation of work, or decides irresponsibly, and if he disregards party decisions, state regulations, permits the publication or performance of writings, works, or programs that are not in harmony with our socialist principles and that damage our political goals and interests. Unfortunately, there have recently been some examples of the latter.

Irresponsibility and lack of discipline cannot be tolerated for several reasons, one of which is because they violate the party's principles of humanism. Our humanism serves the protection of honest, conscientious, and law-abiding people. An attitude that protects those who endanger the interests of society and disrupt the law cannot be accepted as humane.

It causes damage to the community if such mistakes are hidden and discussed instead of a stand being taken against them. If a party member is involved, excuses harm the party and also the one who committed the mistake, and who makes the excuses. Many people still do not understand that the goal and essence of calling to account in the party is to educate through the uncovering of mistakes, so that both the offender and those around him draw a lesson from the punishment.

Esteemed congress, dear comrade delegates, the CCC highly appreciates the results achieved under the leadership of our party and through the work of our people. The committee urges and supports all efforts to serve the protection and augmentation of these achievements. It is convinced that our party is capable of overcoming and curbing the weaknesses and faults that impede the further development of socialist society, and of taking a more resolute and consistent stand against unfavorable phenomena. This is not only possible, but also necessary.

Our party evaluates its results in the activity to reorganize society without complacence and according to reality. In this spirit, the party continuously revises its activity and perceives the contradictions of development.

The party always speaks openly and does not hide anything. This is the great strength of our party. That is why we cannot accept anyone using the problems and weaknesses we ourselves discovered to justify his own short-sighted and pessimistic outlook. Our party is aware of the current difficult and complex circumstances in several respects, and takes them into consideration. But the party was able to find -- in a much more difficult situation than the current one -- a way out and correct solutions with the help of which we were able to safely progress further.

Now, when we are celebrating the 40th anniversary of our country's liberation, looking back on the historic road we have made, we can say with conviction that today, as well as in the future, the strength of our party gives impetus to work and provides guarantees for a more successful future.

Our socialist achievements have deep roots in the life of society and of the people. Our people want and support their defense. Our strength lies in our party's ideals, its political, action, and organizational unity, in the discipline of the communists, in their readiness for action, and in their unity with the people.

I request that the esteemed congress discuss and approve the report of the CCC.

Ferenc Havasi

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[Report on speech by Ferenc Havasi, MSZMP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 26 March session of the 13th MSZMP Congress in Budapest]

[Text] In his introduction, the Central Committee secretary analyzed the development that has taken place since the 12th Congress.

Despite the unfavorable foreign economic conditions, in recent years the people's economy developed in accordance with the 12th congress resolution, he said. We have succeeded in achieving the country's financial balance and maintaining our solvency, but we have failed to completely achieve our second major goal, the maintenance of the standard of living.

Because the improvement of the external balance required 2-3 percent of the national income -- a larger portion of its annual growth -- domestic utilization had to be reduced, which decisively reduced investment. In 5 years, 15 percent fewer investments than envisaged will be realized in the socialist sector. As a result of pursuing a policy aimed at safeguarding the standard of living, living conditions are improving and the real income and consumption of the population is increasing at a rate close to the planned one, by approximately 7 percent. However, compared with 1980, real wages will decline 6-7 percent.

In the seventies, the challenges of the world economy, the deterioration of terms of trade -- not counting the interest paid on loans -- caused a loss amounting almost to the national income of 1 year. There are complex reasons for this loss that can be traced back to the past decades.

Between 1948 and 1953, largely for political considerations, the branches that were strenuously developed in the Hungarian economy were mainly those for which domestic natural endowments were lacking and for which we did not have the necessary technical and vocational expertise, nor the required level of professional competence. In industry, the rate of energy and raw material-intensive branches, based largely on imports, grew more than was rational. A subsequent extensive development policy retained this production structure, and all this resulted in the increasing material-intensiveness of the economy.

Our problems were only enhanced by the fact that the practical implementation of the energy policy concept developed in the second half of the sixties -- which proceeded from the then prevailing price terms -- led to an excessive increase of the ratio of oil, a delay of almost 1 and 1/2 decades in the introduction of nuclear energy, and neglect of the modernization of domestic coal mining. Within energy utilization, the ratio of oil products increased to more than 40 percent by the end of 1978. The raw material and energy price explosions that ensued made the operation of the Hungarian economy, which was very raw material- and energy-intensive in any case, more expensive. The competitiveness, modernity, and quality of processing industry products were unsatisfactory and, therefore, it could not offset the losses. Thus, the exchange ratio deterioration has been, in essence, perpetuated since 1973.

Our difficulties were increased by the fact that the further development of the economic macromanagement system was inconsistent in the mid-seventies. In the first years, the economic macromanagement system introduced in 1968 produced good results. Subsequently, although the fundamental principles were in operation, we deviated from them. We did not keep in mind the need to rapidly adapt to external changes, but we alleviated unfavorable effects -- which was indeed correct with respect to the burdens of the population -- and protected economic units at all costs.

In the mid-seventies, neither economic policy nor public opinion were prepared for the action required by the changed circumstances. Until 1979, economic policy retained the elements of the extensive course of development, the dynamic economic growth and accumulation, and relatively stable prices. Thus, the enterprises and the population did not feel the direct effect of the world economic changes. To a decisive extent, the budget financed the burdens of the rapidly increasing costs of imports and covered its deficit through loans. Consequently, the country's debts reached a level in 1978 that threatened development. Therefore, we had to exchange the previous priorities: The emphasis was shifted onto the creation of external equilibrium, and, to that end, we held back domestic utilization and modified the rate of economic growth.

Even this brief review shows that the present difficulties of our people's economy, its problems of equilibrium, and the limitation of growth and utilization are largely rooted in the past decades. Although we cannot by any means claim that we have resolved our problems resulting from indebtedness, it is significant that we have managed to reduce our debts in such a way that we have simultaneously preserved mutual trust between the party and the people and our domestic political calm.

Qualitative Changes Are Needed

The main problem is that the slowdown in growth was not accompanied by the necessary structural changes. We were not able to advance to the desired extent in improved efficiency, either. Although productivity increased, labor organization failed to improve to the necessary degree, and we could not achieve a substantive breakthrough in eliminating the causes of our losses. Within decreasing investments, there was not sufficient selectivity and our structure hardly changed. The average period for the completion of projects has not been reduced, adherence to plan and the organization of implementation have not improved, and the proportion of machinery is still low. From all this we have to draw the conclusion: Without qualitative changes, there is no point in restoring the high investment proportion in the old structure. True, in this way we would accelerate growth, but we would also have to take into account the return of earlier tensions. If, however, we outline and carry out our investments with a proper structure, with the assertion of intensive requirements, then a relatively smaller rate of accumulation will be able to ensure more rapid advancement. Therefore, it is a fundamental task to correctly determine the development goals and to improve the efficiency of investments.

The performance and the achievements of the last 5 years elicited appreciation on an international scale. We have succeeded in maintaining our solvency in a period when more than 50 countries became insolvent and asked for their debts to be rescheduled. The joint effects of several factors made it possible for us to stand our ground under the well-known unfavorable conditions, too.

Among these we should first of all mention our people's efforts, their readiness for sacrifice where necessary, our balanced domestic policy atmosphere, and the consensus in support of the policy. A considerable share of the burdens were borne by our efficient large socialist enterprises. Although this contributed to the achievement of our short-term goals, it hindered the increase of the income producing capacity of the enterprises and the people's economy.

Important stabilizing factors are the fact that we were able to unrelentingly continue our cooperative and agricultural policy and that we have safeguarded the material interests of the peasantry, its production enthusiasm, that the large-scale socialist enterprises are properly integrating the activity of the 1 and 1/2 million household and ancillary units, and that our agriculture and food industry was able to produce an adequate domestic supply and increase exports.

The resolute and consistent activity of all the elements of our system of political institutions played a considerable role in overcoming our difficulties. The Central Committee, the National Assembly, the government, its committees, the scientific institutions, the social and mass organizations, and the district and enterprise political and social organs tirelessly worked in harmony to improve our balance situation and solve our economic tasks.

An important factor of our achievements is that we were able to rely on economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other friendly socialist countries during this period as well. Without belonging to the socialist sphere of the world economy and without cooperation in CEMA, both our burdens and our losses would have been considerably greater.

The UN specialized financial international institutions, of which we have been a member since 1982, also played a role in improving our financial situation and in maintaining our solvency.

We have also heard opinions recently that there has been a strengthening of the Western orientation in our economic relations. Those who claim this forget the fact that we ran into debt not in recent years, but in the seventies, that we have reduced our debts in these years; that it was not just recently that the financial balance of the economy broke down, but that we have restored it recently; that we have not expanded our capitalist imports in these years, on the contrary, we have reduced them recently; and we have reduced the vulnerability of our entire economic activity.

In these years, too, Hungary has been an active participant in the development of integration within CEMA, in broadening mutual economic relations, and in perfecting multilateral cooperation. Each relationship has its particular role for our country. At the same time, as we have repeatedly stated, the security of our economic development plans depends not only on foreign markets, but also on the foreign political environment. We also desire relations with the nonsocialist countries, relations based on equality and mutual advantage. Often, however, we are the injured subjects of politically induced and oriented measures. Our cooperation with the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union, provides security against these measures. Therefore, we will continue to import everything that is possible and economical from there in the future, too.

An Image of Socialism Free of Illusions

The current image of socialism drawn from generally well-intentioned illusions is in a process of transformation. We thought earlier that the economic development of socialism was steady, the increase in the standard of living unbroken, and that the effects of the capitalist economic and political crisis could not reach the socialist world. We supposed that, with the advancement of socialism, the borders between countries and the national issue would lose importance. We thought that the generation raised in socialism could no longer be infected by nationalism, anti-Semitism, a lower middle class outlook, and that they would no longer be effected by religious and bourgeois views.

Today, all the socialist countries are reviewing their level of development and the paths to be followed in the future. The idea of the prasent stage of the socialist development of the Soviet Union was present last December in the writings of Comrade Chernenko, and prior to that, at the ideological conference, in the address of Comrade Gorbachev, as well as in the June 1983 Central Committee meeting address by Comrade Andropov. There has been a strengthening of the recognition that the perfection of developed socialism requires a long historical period and the socialist countries are at the beginning of this period.

This has numerous consequences, among other things on the level of development of production conditions, on the principles of the distribution of production, on socialist democracy, and on the system of political institutions. Theoretically, there is argument that there is a need to better utilize the relations between products and prices in the course of the construction of socialism. The question is: Have we drawn the practical conclusions from this?

In socialism, production and the market are guided and regulated by the plan of the people's economy. The laws of production cannot be eliminated or disregarded under the conditions of socialism either. It is possible to separate prices from values, but one should be aware that this will have consequences, that the long-term nonfulfillment of demand leads to economic, political, and even conscious distortions and to undesirable phenomena.

In order to construct socialism there is the necessity to unite the broadest social forces. We must know how to develop a just society, and a society free of shortages and poverty. Socialism is the society of work in which a lack of discipline, laxity, and a failure to fulfill obligations are alien phenomena. However, the road to socialism is more rugged and has many more detours and failures than we had originally thought. This is not bad; on the contrary, it is good that we rid ourselves of illusions and strengthen our belief in the truth of our ideals and in their accessibility.

Growth and Balance

The 12th congress, Havasi continued, recognized that in order to make a new advance, we first must slow down. Now, one of the important tasks of the 13th congress is to outline a program of economic development that is faster, consolidates our balance, contributes to the structural development of the economy, and is based on intensive resources.

The Seventh 5-Year Plan is being shaped in the spirit of this requirement. It places increased efficiency, income-producing capacity, and international competitiveness in the forefront. In order to achieve all this -- and this is the motivating force of our Seventh 5-Year Plan -- it attributes a greater role to the acceleration of technical-technological progress and the extensive spread of modern technological procedures.

The acceleration of economic development and the emergence of favorable processes can be gradually realized. In the first years, in 1985, a 2.5-3 percent increase in national income is stipulated. This ensures a low-level increase in domestic consumption, including the maintenance of the level of investments and of real wages. From 1987-88, the increase in national income could exceed 3 percent, and based on this, domestic consumption could also grow somewhat faster: first at a rate close to that of the national income, then essentially parallel with it or perhaps slightly exceeding it. This presents an opportunity to expand the room for maneuvering as regards the standard-of-living, increasing real wages, and maintaining the real value of social benefits on a wider scale.

In the next 5 years, 850-900 billion forints, in 1981 prices -- an amount exceeding that of the period 1981-85 -- can be allocated for investments in the socialist sector. The development of production should be export-oriented and provide economical substitutes for imports. It is important to make better use of available natural resources and process available materials into products of the highest possible value and quality. In basic industrial material production, for instance, iron metallurgy, the chemical industry, the production of high quality, special products must be increased. In the processing industry, primarily the machine industry, a marked improvement in export capacity is a particularly important task.

We have to implement developments suitable not for the requirements of yesterday, but for those of today and tomorrow in the production of electronics. For example, equipment for use in biotechnology, in robot technology, in the pharmaceutical sector, in wheat and meat production, in energy consumption, and in the use of secondary materials.

We are planning the production of agricultural and food industry products that will be in keeping with an adequate domestic supply, with economical non-ruble marketing possibilities, and with our responsibilities for offsetting our ruble-accounted material and energy imports. The improvement of the structure, an efficient increase in the processing standards, the reduction of expenses, and flexible market and adjustments are fundamental tasks.

The quantitative tasks of the construction industry, which are well known, are also increasing. It is also necessary to promote these by reducing specific expenses, improving organization, and making proper organizational changes.

The Requirements of the Standard of Living Policy

We require that the standard of living policy more tangibly promote and better encourage economic development, reduce social inequalities, mitigate social tensions, be more just, and create a more proportionate spread of public burdens.

Some two-thirds of the population's incomes are directly linked to work performance. We have to ensure that the work carried out during regular working hours is better organized and better appreciated, and that outstanding performances are properly appreciated, both morally and materially. The modified income regulation system provides better possibilities for this than previously.

There continues to be a need for activities after normal working hours. However, this is not an end in itself, and should develop in harmony with the interests of the people's economy. We are striving to ensure that the incomes earned during normal working hours and after hours are adjusted to genuine performance and the differences between them are socially acceptable. In order to achieve this, the task is not to implement general restrictions, but to eliminate activities that conflict with the regulations and the legal measures in force.

Speaking of our social policy, many people have noted recently that although budgetary expenditures are increasing, social tensions are not being alleviated, but actually are intensifying. At the moment, we are allotting 26 percent of the national income to social benefits in kind and money. This rate is consistent with the country's level of development and cannot be substantially increased in the coming years. The problem is that accelerated price increases have reduced the purchasing power of social benefits. In addition, the level and proportion of social benefits, conditions for obtaining them, and their regional distribution are inequitable. Although the more affluent strata of the population also participates in social benefits, some of those who socially need the benefits are not helped enough.

For this reason, many demands arise regarding social policy, but mainly that distribution should be fairer and provide greater help to those who need it more.

Income from work and social insurance benefits remain the major pillars of a secure life. It is an important prerequisite for a secure life that the purchasing power of social incomes encompass a wider sphere and reach a more socially acceptable level. In a more favorable economic position, it may even be possible to increase the real value of some benefits. Helping those in a disadvantageous social position and stressing the principle of need are important elements of social policy. At the moment, however, we can only take more into consideration and assert the principles and viewpoints of need, together with peoples' entitlements as citizens. However, in the long-term, citizens' entitlements must gradually predominate.

The fact that basic health care and public education are free of charge and will remain so serve the security of the members of society and, at the same time, strengthen their equality of opportunity. These free benefits must be more consistently strengthened. At the same time, fees for certain services that do not fall into the category of basic care must be established with greater differentiation than at present.

Of the social policy elements that affect individual strata of the population, we regard the following as essential:

-- Social policy will have a favorable impact on the material position of families with children in that we will gradually extend the child care allowance beyond the child's first year to age three; we will preserve the purchasing power of family allowances; and we will increase the allowances to families with three or more children. Young people starting a family will receive more benefits and greater support for obtaining and maintaining their first dwellings, particularly if their own resources and their families' backing are not sufficient for this.

-- In the debate on the congress' guiding principles, many people dealt on the situation of old people and old-age pensioners. Pensioners number nearly 2.3 million. A total of 76,000 people past retirement age are working full time and 430,000 old-age pensioners are working to supplement their pensions. Some 60 percent of the pensioners obtain income from household and auxiliary plots. The situation of old-age pensioners in accordance with their age, state of health, suitability for active pursuits, their pensions and supplementary incomes, and family and financial positions, is extremely varied. The situation of those who are older, incapable of active work, live alone, and receive low pensions is difficult. More than half a million pensioners are single, and it is primarily those who cannot rely on their families who should be supported. The gravest problems will be alleviated as early as this year.

-- The social security of old people is fundamentally determined by the pension and care system. Pensions constitute a right earned through work and the payment of contributions, and, as such, are an irreversible achievement. We are endeavoring to have the pension system make more allowances for the work performed, be more flexible, and provide greater social security.

Modifications -- if there are any -- must not affect those who will retire in the future in a detrimental way. According to our concepts, the current as well as a modernized pension system -- that is, both of them -- will be legally valid and exist simultaneously and parallel with each other for a few years. Those retiring will be able to choose the system most advantageous for them.

The Central Committee secretary then dwelled on price policy, stressing that we will not be able to relinquish the multifaceted role of prices in influencing future processes, either.

An Anti-Inflationary Program

Both producer and consumer prices increased more rapidly than planned in the Sixth 5-Year Plan period. In 5 years, taking the 1985 increases into account as well, producer prices will have increased 31-32 percent, and consumer prices approximately 38 percent, while average wages will have increased more than 30 percent. In spite of this, the attempt to reduce unjustified price subsidies has failed. We have made progress in developing a two-tier price system: Consumer prices will exceed the level of producer prices by 7 percent in 1985. The large-scale price increases have had both favorable and unfavorable effects on the economy. It contributed to a vigorous expansion of exports and a retention of the balance between domestic supply and demand and the standard of commodity supply. At the same time, it provided protection for economic units noted for their poor performance, and negligent and unorganized work; distorted incentives; and had an unfavorable impact on economic relations among enterprises. Social-political disadvantages were also noted.

We are well aware that the development of prices is rooted in economic management, and we will not be able to forego the future development of proper price ratio and the elimination of unjustified consumer price subsidies. The system of economic macromanagement and the deliberate development of market forces must strengthen the function of prices.

We are striving to perceptibly reduce the level of price increases -- to about 5 percent, and to this end, we consider it necessary to draw up an anti-inflationary program. The reduction of price increases can be gradually attained. We cannot exclude the possibility that there will be consumer price increases, including central price increases, in the coming years. However, we intend to attain the proper price proportions so that the level price increases are of a socially tolerable degree.

On the Further Development of Economic Macromanagement

Ferenc Havasi then dealt with the further development of our system of economic macromanagement.

We strive to have the enterprises and cooperatives become the main protagonists of the economy and for all the essential legal, economic, and political prerequisites to help enterprises attain maximum production, he said. The new forms of enterprise management and the strengthening of workers collectives incentives will be a considerable step in the development of social democracy as well. This step fits well into the range of measures we have taken or plan to take in the future.

We are strengthening elements of self-administration, democracy, and opportunities for having a say in all areas of public life: in the social and mass organizations, the cooperative movement, the work of the council and parliament, the enterprises, and the chamber of commerce organs. Central plans can also be better asserted if the working people, as owners of socialist property, are able to feel more involved in shaping their own destiny.

A radical change in internal and external conditions for economic growth and the emergence of intensive-type growth has put the development of economic mechanisms on the agenda of the other socialist countries as well. Not only the high-level CEMA conference was characterized by this realization; it also manifests itself in the fact that we understand each other's problems better. If several of us dare face up to the necessity of making changes simultaneously, pursue an economic policy consistent with our situations, national characteristics, and common socialist interests, and if we develop a planned people's economy, system of economic instruments, plan cooperation, and way of thinking accordingly, then this may guarantee that we can develop more rapidly in the right direction through our joint efforts.

The documents submitted to the 13th congress provide sound guidance to our party and people. It is reassuring that we can count on the cooperation of the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, in realizing these tasks.

Economic policy was a difficult and complex area of our political life during the last 5 years, and we are facing complex tasks now, too. We would like to resolve them so that the entire political and ideological sphere will be able to rely on, derive strength from, and obtain help from the economy. The people working in the sphere of the economy assume and will accomplish the tasks devolving on them through the resolutions of the congress. For this, we require the support of the esteemed congress and our working people.

Gyorgy Lazar

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[Report on address by Gyorgy Lazar, MSZMP Politburo member and Council of Ministers chairman, at the 26 March session of the 13th MSZMP Congress in Budapest: "A Higher Standard, More Consistent Government Activity"]

[Text] In this introduction, the chairman of the Council of Ministers expressed his agreement with the Central Committee report, with the supplementary remarks made by Comrade Janos Kadar, with the draft resolution, and with the documents awaiting confirmation, and proposed that the congress approve them and raise them to the rank of decisions; he then said as follows:

The government has regarded as its main responsibility in recent years asserting -- including under difficult and often critical international relations and more complex domestic conditions than previously -- the decisions of the 12th congress concerning the guidance by the state of socialist construction -- in management, in the economy, cultural life, and in foreign politics -- and to live up to the confidence invested in it.

The confidence in the party has been and still is for us and for our people the greatest source of strength in fulfilling our tasks. In our work, we have been given indispensable help from the Central Committee, the party organizations, and the National Assembly. Our relations with the PPF and the social and interest-representation organs, with the Academy of Sciences and its institutions have strengthened and become fuller. Cooperation with the trade unions is of great value. It is true that we are arguing more than previously. I think this is understandable considering the given situation. Conflicts of interest are more frequent and there has been an increase in the importance of classifying demands. That is why, although our goals and endeavors are the same, we do not always agree on the way to approach the issues. The principled debate, readiness to listen to and consider each other's arguments, always ultimately lead to a solution acceptable to both sides. It is my conviction that this will be so in the future.

I cannot omit this opportunity to express thanks to our people for their understanding and support, without which the government could have hardly fulfilled its obligations.

Central and Local Management Have Developed

In the last half decade, most of the tasks we have faced have come from the often severe everyday problems of the economy. There were instances when we were able to solve these problems only with stricter central guidance than usual. As a result of this, there was increased concern that we were returning to a practice abandoned earlier. I think by now it has become clear that this was not our intention. In the course of the more resolute assertion of economic regulators, as well as in its own decision framework, the government has been and still is striving to ensure the enterprises' independence.

Starting from the decisions of the 12th congress and from the interim positions of the Central Committee, we have advanced, among other things, in the development of institutions of socialist democracy. Among other things, we have worked out a program for the development of electronics and biotechnology, and for the more economical management of energy and materials. We have dealt with important issues such as the demographic policy, the development of public education and higher education, the social-political concept, and the long-term guidelines for settlement development.

We have worked out the complex program for the development of national economic planning and the economic macromanagement system. We have discussed the trends of social-economic development for the period extending up to the year 2000. We have advanced in working out and internationally coordinating the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

Central and local administration have developed. I can say with pleasure that the great majority of ministry and council officials are carrying out their activity honestly and competently and are aware of their responsibility. However, our people have become politically more demanding and more critical. We are aware of and are not indifferent to the fact that public opinion often criticizes our activity. One of the reasons for this, I believe, is that the situation has sometimes forced us to make decisions that — and I have to say this honestly -- could have at least partially been avoided through greater foresight or better work. The other reason for the criticism lies in the fact that there has been an increase in phenomena hurting our socialist norms -- we spoke about them yesterday.

Is the criticism justified, or is the government responsible for the fact that not enough is happening to improve the economic activity and curb the unfavorable phenomena? Yes, the government bears a responsibility in this, and, in addition, it has things to do. We are taking this into account and wish to further develop the government work so that it serves our social endeavors even more consistently and ensures favorable conditions for the material and moral appreciation of the activity of socialist public life, and of better and more efficient work, and it should leave fewer possibilities for trickery.

Balance and Efficiency -- Combined Tasks

As Comrade Kadar said, we have fulfilled the most important tasks we set for ourselves at the 12th congress. We have safeguarded our socialist achievements, stopped the dangerous process of deterioration of the foreign economic balance, and have begun to reduce our debts even earlier than planned.

Then Gyorgy Lazar spoke about the results in socialist construction, the production and community investments implemented in the last 4 years, about the increase in national wealth, and about the developments in consumption, and then continued as follows:

Taking all the circumstances into consideration, the balance is positive. It is even more so if we look at the world in general. Many countries, often economically much more developed countries in much better situations than we are, cannot show a faster growth than ours -- 2-2.5 percent annually. The number of unemployed in the European capitalist countries have grown enormously -- to 15 million people -- while social investments are being cut one after another. If we compare all this with the fact that we have full employment and social security, and that the social benefits not only did not decrease, but even increased by exactly 12 percent in 4 years, that is, faster than the national income, we can be content.

However, we are not content. First of all, because if we had worked better, we would have achieved more. Efficiency has improved, but to a lesser extent than possible and necessary. One, although not the only indicator of this, is that while foreign terms of trade deteriorated by 7.5 percent in 4 years, the efficiency of the people's economy improved by only a total of 4 percent, accounted in forints; hardly more than what we lost as a result of the deterioration in terms of trade. In other words, in addition to the development of the world economy unfavorable to us, the weaknesses of our work also played a part in the fact that our national income increased to a lesser extent than planned, and that in order to maintain our solvency, we could provide less than planned to domestic consumption, especially to accumulation.

Such a development had two consequences which, no matter how much we wanted, we could not avoid. One is the fact that we again had to increase consumer prices to a greater extent than planned. This, although we partially compensated for the price increases, had a sensitive effect, especially on large families, pensioners, and young people starting their careers and establishing families. The other consequence is the result of curbing investments and is reflected in the fact that, as a result, we also had to give up the implementation of a part of the development projects serving development goals, including technological advancement.

As we were able to ensure the improvement in the foreign balance in a way different from that originally intended -- by reducing domestic consumption -- there are people who question whether it was necessary and correct to subordinate the standard of living and investments to such an extent for the sake of maintaining our international solvency. According to my conviction, yes, it was. It was so first of all because -- and this is shown by the example of many countries -- setting the balance is an indispensable condition for developing an aggressive economic policy. We have already taken the first step, but the balance is vulnerable. A safer balance is required for further advancement, and it is necessary to mobilize new growth energies in order to lay the foundations for such advancement.

The Central Committee submitted precisely such a program to the congress. It proposes that we improve the balance not to the detriment of domestic consumption, investments, and technological progress, but by modernizing production, improving efficiency, increasing competitiveness, and by better utilizing the available resources; in other words, by the faster and more forceful development of the characteristics of intensive development. The possibilities for this are present, and the government continues to work out the Seventh 5-Year Plan in this spirit. However, the possibility is still not reality. In order to become so, it is necessary to make entire society aware that the consolidation of the balance and the establishment of our progress cannot be accomplished without enhanced efficiency, and that the process of modernizing the economy is halted or at least slowed if we do not advance in consolidating the balance. The simultaneous solution of the two combined tasks urgently demands readiness for renewal, exploitation of intellectual capital, development of work style and organization, and the improvement of quality to an extent unprecedented in the earlier phases of our economic history, whose importance can be compared only with the great revolutionary changes of our socialist development.

At the same time, we must also understand that increasing efficiency and developing the intensive characteristics of economic activity, tasks in whose fulfillment we are still at the beginning, are not only a matter for the strictly economic sphere, but a matter for society as a whole that far exceeds strict economic limits. It is a combined task whose successful solution basically depends on the quality of the human factor in the final analysis.

We can, however, put the question thus: Do we have another choice than to gradually increase economic development through the more rational utilization of our resources if we do not want to abuse the patience with which our people endured the stagnation of the standard of living, and quite a few people endured its decline. Can we take the risk of even further increasing our technological handicap -- which already exists due to historical reasons -- by curbing investments to an even greater extent? In my opinion, the answer can only be that we do not have such a choice because we cannot expect anybody to pay the bill for us. There is also no need for this choice if we seriously decide to exploit the well-known resources on our economy. However, for this we have to create a social atmosphere and economic conditions that provide greater incentives for the development of innovative and entrepreneurial readiness, and which more perceptibly enforce the improvement of economic activity than at present.

Among other things, recognition of these requirements resulted in the decision to further develop our management system and place it even more in the service of increasing efficiency, to ensure greater scope for the assertion of creative energies, and to create closer harmony between social and individual interests.

Acceleration of the economy based on more efficient work is not a task for the long-term future, but of the present. We have worked out our plan for the current year in this spirit.

Unfortunately, the beginning -- the extraordinary circumstances of recent months -- indicates that we will be able to attain our goal only at the price of great efforts. According to the initial compilations, the loss of production due to restrictions imposed on energy consumption and the extra expenditure caused by the winter resulted in damages estimated to exceed 20 billion forints.

I will take this opportunity to express my thanks on behalf of the government to the miners, to the workers in the branches of energy supply, transportation, and transport of goods, to the soldiers, and to everyone who contributed self-sacrificing work during the difficult days of the winter in order to overcome our difficulties. At the same time, I express my conviction that the collectives of enterprises, cooperatives, and the socialist brigades will do everything in the coming months to make up for the losses in production and that the impetus of the socialist work competition will contribute to the fulfillment of our current year's plan.

Renewal of Concepts, More Modern Methods

In order to be able to fulfill the increased requirements, there is need for the renewal of concepts, further knowledge, greater awareness, and more modern working methods on every level and at every link of the management chain. Speaking of ourselves, the government, I can add that in asserting the new requirement for our development, we must act with the same consistency we displayed in recent years when it was the process of indebtedness that we had to halt and reverse.

It is not by accident that I am stressing this. One of the weaknesses of our work is that we are not sufficiently consistent in implementing the demands of efficiency and economic rationality, in fulfilling positions of principle through concrete action. The fault often lies in our tendency not to solve conflicts, but to smooth them over. This also plays a part in the fact that we have made less progress than we should have in the elimination of uneconomical production -- by the way, let me mention here that one-fifth of all enterprises work at a low level of efficiency or at a loss -- in the reduction of subsidies, in the realization of personal responsibility, and in the elimination of a great many other phenomena hindering our progress. Public opinion is rightly calling us to account for this.

A further issue: We are at the stage of socioeconomic development in which the familiar formerly successful methods are no longer or not always sufficient. People must be made to accept that the more consistent attention paid to goods and price relations, the new forms of ventures and enterprise management, the greater a real differentiation between earnings based on performance, and the implementation of the more just distribution of public burdens do not represent a move away from our socialist principles.

People must also be made to accept that when renewal is necessary in all elements of the economy and when the world economic environment is characterized by large-scale instability, we can expect fulfillment of a management's functions only from one that is based on clear and stable principles and is capable -- always starting from the concrete conditions of choosing the most suitable means affecting the activity in question. For this, however, there is no ready-made recipe.

We do not believe in improvisations, but it may happen that some of our measures will not stand the test of practice. This is not a good thing, but it is a greater mistake and causes more damage if we do not even try to solve the issues brought forth by life.

I must mention all this also because it often happens that some people search for the causes of rightly criticized phenomena and unsuccessful and loss-producing economic activity in regulations, gaps in the law, or in some sort of ideological aberrations even though the matter at issue is common negligence, lack of organization, poor quality work, incompetence; in other words, faults and distortions of human behavior or violations of citizen's discipline. And there are examples of this, too. No doubt it is necessary to take a firm stand against phenomena that hurt our socialist norms. Like many other people, I am convinced that administrative means in themselves prove to be insufficient if they are not supplemented by efficient means of social control exercised by the great majority of honest, responsible people.

We have embarked on the road of economic development on which we have to advance for a long time -- but at this time faster in order to stand our ground in the historic competition -- and must create, by approaching the international forefront, the material-technological basis of the developed socialist society.

In the establishment of our national economic plans, as previously, at present, and in the future, too, our fruitful and expanding cooperation with the Soviet Union is playing an irreplaceable role. Great areas of development in cooperation within CEMA were opened up by the high-level conference held last year, a conference whose decisions, if implemented, will open up new possibilities for the faster advancement toward our national and at the same time common goals. We, on our part, will do everything to actively contribute to deepening socialist economic integration.

Maintaining Peace Is the Condition for the Solution of Our Tasks

An indispensable condition for the solution of our tasks is peace. The intensification of the arms race, the efforts made by the United States and NATO to attain military superiority, have severely strained the international situation. It is our firm conviction that, in spite of all the machinations of the extremist imperialist circles, it is possible to avoid the dangers threatening mankind. The main guarantee for this is the strength and consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist community and the unity of the world's peace-loving forces. The main goal of our government's foreign policy in recent years has been to ensure the best possible conditions for our people's work of peaceful construction. Starting from this, we have carried out an active and multilateral international activity.

Our foreign policy activity was determined by the fact that the Hungarian People's Republic is a firm and reliable member of the community of socialist countries and a committed follower of peaceful coexistence. In recent years, we have further strengthened our friendship with the Soviet Union, have brought it even closer, and have further developed our cooperation. We will continue to do everything in the future, too, to ensure that the joint defense organization of the socialist countries, the Warsaw Pact, is able to fulfill its purpose. We fully support the peace initiatives made by the Soviet Union and greet the Geneva talks that are now starting as a favorable new development.

As up to now, we will continue to pay great attention to the development of political and economic cooperation with the developing countries. In accordance with our internationalist ideals, we feel solidarity with the movements struggling for social progress and for safeguarding their national independence. As we have repeatedly declared, we continue to be ready to expand our relations with the developed capitalist countries on the basis of equality and mutual advantage and to promote the dialogue between countries of different social systems.

In concluding his address, the premier stressed: Following the road of socialism, our people have created a homelike fatherland for themselves, and it enjoys its reputation and the world's respect. Our party's 13th congress presents our people with the attractive program of continuing -- with new impetus, national unity, and based on firm foundations -- the construction of socialist society.

I will conclude my address as I did 5 years ago. In the name of government and the public service workers, I can assure you that, fulfilling our honorable duty, we will do our utmost for the implementation of the decisions of the 13th congress.

Istvan Olah

AU010832 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Mar 85 p 9

[Report on speech given by Colonel General Istvan Olah, defense minister, at the 26 March session of 13th MSZMP Congress in Budapest]

[Text] "The communists in the Army have discussed with great responsibility the work done since the last congress," Istvan Olah began his speech, and then stated: "It is satisfying to confirm that the party organizations within the Army are strong and have important political influence and successfully fulfill their roles. The communist soldiers support the party's policy in firm conviction."

The speaker pointed out that today, when military efforts and moves are actually determining the international situation, the defense of the country is a vital part of the party's policy. He established that our country's defense for a long time has been a balanced, realistic, and firmly established one, which the working people have widely understood and accepted. This is why the majority of the citizens fulfill their obligations in defending their country; and the party, the state and economic organizations have an active and competent part in the country's defense efforts.

He then spoke about the fact that the protection of our peace and security, of the country and our socialist system is our most important national affair; in a broader sense, this is the duty of the entire country and its citizens, a duty not transferable to anyone else.

"At the same time," he said, "it is a fundamental point that the tasks of defending our country can and must be solved within the alliance system of the Warsaw Pact in the closest unity with the armies of the socialist countries. Our defense policy is therefore an internationalist and committed policy, whose supporting pillar has always been the Hungarian-Soviet friendship, membership in the Warsaw Pact Organization, and completely fulfilling, in good spirit, the obligations accepted in the organization."

Next, he stated the following with reference to the arms race forced on us: The Hungarian nation and the entire public opinion can be assured that we, the soldiers of the Hungarian People's Army, are as concerned with limiting the arms race, the foundation of institutionalized guarantees of peace, and the success of the negotiations as anyone else in our country. Our experience in history and common sense require from the nations building socialism that we preserve the achieved military balance between the two opposing blocs because this has had and will have a decisive role in the future as well in restraining the aggressive imperialist powers striving for superiority, Istvan Olah said. Then he stressed that the main factor in counterbalancing the senseless and unrestrained imperialist arming, has been and will continue to be the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, and within this the readiness of the Soviet nation to make incredible sacrifices, as well as the enormous economic, military and scientific potential of the Soviet Union. The Hungarian nation will contribute, to a realistically possible degree, to the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, and through this to the prevailing balance of powers.

The speaker then mentioned that the Hungarian Army corresponds to the requirements of the age. Its armament and military technology are of a high technical level. The readiness to fight and the mobilization system and capacity have become more sophisticated; the results of training and preparation and that of education are on a higher level. Our Army has stood the test even in international comparison during the joint military exercises of the Warsaw Pact, the battle-practice firing, and during field exercises.

Referring to the social and economic situation, he added that the building of our Army was subject to exactly the same circumstances and conditions as all other areas of our society. There were some favorable to us among these, as well as some less favorable ones, and even some that are disadvantageous.

In the following he stressed that the question occupying our society is the education of the next generation in the spirit of socialism, and that the Army's share in this role is always important. This duty was fulfilled responsibly last year by the commanding staff of the Army and its political workers and communists. He then referred to the fact that the soldiers have been working for a long time now on great investment projects of the national economy, that they are also part of the realization of the housing construction program and the development of transportation. The soldiers also work a great deal during peak agricultural periods, and the results of their work are of considerable value for the nation. Our public respects and bears in mind the service and work which often take place day and night, he said. At the same time, we request and expect more attention and responsibility so that there will be no belittling, cynical and tactless incidents, nor harmful generalizations of the soldiers' activities.

We request from the official organs responsible for the forming of public opinion a more regular and correct dealing with our life, work, and those efforts in the field of defense, service, and construction that the troops carry out with genuine willingness.

Talking about the future the minister stated: "In the next period, in coordination with our allies and in line with the circumstances, we will continue to improve the armament, equipment, and the connected infrastructure of the people's Army and the modernization of the organizational structure. In the future we will give more emphasis to the human factors, of which the decisive condition is that our people's Army must always have a career staff that is suitable and prepared in every way. A broad social interest is tied to the fact that the directing of people to a military career, to have reserve cadres for the people's Army, and to give a better social appreciation for the military profession will form a well-functioning system."
In conclusion, he called attention to the strengthening of an atmosphere in which everyone gives their best performance and in which order, training, discipline, and competence will further improve.

Csaba Hamori

AU021058 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Mar 85 pp 6-7

[Report on speech by Csaba Hamori, KISZ Central Committee first secretary, at the 27 March session of the 13th MSZMP Congress: "Youth Supports the Program Providing Answers to New Questions"]

[Text] According to statistics, every second Hungarian is under 30. This fact indicates that youth has importance and responsibility. It is not only a part and shaper of the future, but of the present as well, here and now, said the first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee at the beginning of his speech, and then continued:

Our party has always paid particular attention to youth. This program, which is recommended by the draft resolution, is able simultaneously to confirm the proven main direction and fundamental features, which have been verified by practice, of party policy and to provide the answers to new questions of our era. This is in the interest of youth as well, and that is why we support the program.

In recent years, the successes of constructive work have not been as spectacular and matter-of-course as earlier. It is understandable that opposing interests surface more sharply in such a situation. It is a natural concomitant of this that debates about our present and future have also become brisker among young people. Our generation has grown more sensitive, frank and critical.

The identification of young people with socialism is not automatic. There is also a lot of disarray today. There are several reasons for this. There has always been and will be a difference between our accepted objectives that are regarded as correct and the everyday practice of their realization. There are people, however, who interpret the natural contradictions of development as a political error. Yet most of the disturbing phenomena and the problems of identification are not of an ideological nature.

Young People Fulfill Their Duty Honorably

Wherever possible, policy encourages independent initiative. Whenever someone wants to truly bring about a change and act, however, he often runs into obstacles that may be either easy or difficult to overcome. Frequently these obstacles are erected by those who agree with principles "in general," but who are unwilling or unable to act on specific issues. They must be opposed. Unfortunately, those who have become indolent and resigned to everything are not uncommon among young people, either. We must help and encourage those who are prepared to shoulder the difficulties and struggle for their convictions. The ability to stand firm with courage is not innate. The first example is provided by the family. It would be a good thing to also create an atmosphere in schools that gives prestige to independent action and thought and personalities.

The speaker mentioned the need to make more realistic a developing view of socialism, and continued:

For the overwhelming majority of young people, the prerequisites for successful study, work, becoming cultured, and a balanced life prevail in our country. Most young Hungarians fulfill their obligations honorably.

However, there is no other social stratum whose position, tasks, and problems are as varied as those of youth. Childish desires and adult objectives alike are characteristics of the generations intergrowing with each other.

There are 1 and 1/2 million students, more than 1 million workers, one-quarter of a million agricultural workers, and almost that many intellectuals -- soldiers, supporters of families, single and divorced people, and more than 100,000 endangered children -- all young Hungarians for whose future and fate we are jointly responsible.

We must also act for the sake of those who have slipped to the periphery of society because of their own aberrations. Alcohol consumption, the slow but progressive spread of drug addiction, and increasing juvenile criminality direct attention to the perplexities of fitting into society. All this urges coordinated joint action by health care, education, social policy, and youth protection.

Those Beginning Work Do Not Ask for a Donation, but for an Opportunity

Someone coming of age is a question of years. When one becomes an adult one also depends on circumstances. As Comrade Kadar has said, age cannot be rigidly interpreted. This requires not only intellectual and biological maturity, but also responsibly performed work and material independence.

Part of youth turns to adult society and expects help at all times and in everything. This extreme is just as harmful as leaving those just beginning to their own devices in everything. This, too, is experienced. Many questions of society and the economy constitute a greatly increased problem for youth because, while they are struggling to develop their own living conditions, a large part of them have already become responsible for their progeny. In general, the years of beginning a career coincide with the starting of a family and a home.

Young people beginning work do not ask for a donation, but for an opportunity. Problems do not start from the moment work begins. It is natural that mastering a job takes time. However, if after 4-5 years a young person is still charged with tasks far beneath his ability and training, and his wages are not proportionate to his accomplishments, then he loses heart, holds back, or turns to something else. Thus, the low income of those who begin a career is not a symptom of sociopolitical considerations, but of inadequate labor organization and workplace management which is timid in bringing about change.

Thus, the majority of youth do not merely want more money, but more demanding tasks and an appraisal that makes actual results measurable in forints as well. The further development of the system of economic macromanagement also promises this, among other things. That is why young people support the reform. The speaker noted that discipline and responsibility must be strengthened also by expanding plant democracy at factories. Today as well, the accusation is being leveled at young people that "their hands are softer" than those of their elders and that work is more distressing for them. There are such cases, but this is not characteristic of youth. This is borne out by the young miners and construction and railroad workers who displayed firm steadfastness even during this year's extremely cold winter. However, I could also mention social work drives, overtime work, and construction camps. Thus, our generation is not running from work.

Enterprise business work partnerships, the cause of so many debates, constitute another area of additional work. It would be desirable if the need for them could be challenged by a well-functioning wage regulation system. Enterprise business work partnerships are still often established to perform work that could also be carried out during normal working hours through better organization and more effective incentives.

Additional earnings often provide an indispensable income for families. However, certain phenomena, and I am thinking of superficial human relations and disintegrating families, also accompany being overburdened and overworked.

Of course, indifference toward each other and rudeness, which is gaining ground here and there, are not necessarily a consequence of being overworked. They are a warning sign that we live as well as our manners are good.

However, in recent years the chances of acquiring a home have hardly improved, particularly in the cities. Although young people moved into most new apartments, one-third of young families with children still do not have their own home. Every third newly married person cannot acquire an independent home even after the age of 30. These figures constitute a warning of the fact that whether someone has an apartment or not is the eminent factor that determines his life, habits, relationship to the community, and way of thinking.

Today, obtaining a home depends primarily on the material circumstances of one's parents. This help will always be needed, and it is a fine example of family solidarity. However, there are many people who cannot rely on this.

The state organs do not idly observe the situation. Councils help those who strive to obtain a home to an increasing degree throughout the country. For instance, this year the council of the capital is granting a total of 400 million forints in interest-free credits to 4,000 families and in nonrepayable support for those who most need it. This alleviates the problem but must not be confused with a long-term solution.

The draft resolution formulates the required development of a more proportionate support and credit system. We are of the opinion that curbing increasing construction costs is a key issue. Only this can provide an opportunity for young families to obtain a home by realistic effort within a foreseeable time.

It is also worth considering principles of individual support. Those who work better, and therefore earn more, should not find themselves in a more disadvantageous position than those who are themselves to blame for their bad position.

We Are Committed To Helping Peace-Loving Forces

Commemorating our revolutionary antecedents is an old tradition in KISZ. Familiarity with the national past is indispensable for us to convince ourselves that the emergence of our socialist society and its results are based on the progressive traditions of the nation.

He dealt with the tasks of KISZ, and then continued:

Our age group is one that was raised under the socialist order and grew up in peace. For this very reason, we realize and perceive our responsibility. We support with work and in a committed manner the joint action of peace-loving forces against the danger of annihilation. We will celebrate the 40th anniversary of our country's liberation and the 12th world youth and student meeting in the spirit of these thoughts. The world youth meeting in Moscow will be a great opportunity for us to further strengthen the internationalism of our youth, to talk about the results of our constructive work, and deepen our friendship with all those who spread peace, freedom, and social progress.

The report deals realistically with the work of KISZ. The recognition of our results gives us strength, but we have no reason to be indolent and conceited. The fact that we are dissatisfied with ourselves was well exemplified by Comrade Hegyi's speech yesterday. We are seeking the answers to the questions she has raised. We must honestly admit that at present we can only answer some of them. However, we believe that we will find the answers in the coming weeks and months. For the sake of an objective picture, our results must also be noted.

In the past 5 years, we have mobilized our members for study and socialist construction work, to be steadfast in the defense of the fatherland and to adopt a responsible attitude.

We tried to find colorful, manifold, and attractive forms for these substantive goals. Some examples of the most popular ones: There are passionate and sincere debates at the student academies, the peace clubs have become popular, and hundreds of young health service professionals are carrying out voluntary screening tests. Those taking a stroll along the shores of Lake Balaton can see for themselves the results of our environmental protection camps, not only have we taken a stand for the endangered children but we have also started to renovate several homes for them. The quality control groups are mitigating production problems, and hundreds of thousands were attracted by our mass sport activities.

We tried to approach new economic issues in an innovative way. From among the KISZ sponsorships and production movements we are keeping only those with meaning and that can be realized.

We are searching and calling for solutions that more directly encourage renewal. Instead of central actions, we support mobilization of the local youth community, economic programs for efficient material and energy management, biotechnology, and robot technology. We are also directly helping young people who are looking for improvements and new solutions. For example, the Association of Creative Youth has already paved the way for innovations worth several hundred million forints. This is the most direct protection of the creators' interests.

Besides the big questions of society, we have to direct more energy toward the working places, the schools, and to the problems of the KISZ organizations active in these places. Firm and united communities are needed. Only in this way can the KISZ become a real public and political school. The most efficient means of education have always been joint action, and it still is today.

The fact that a great number of the party members and leaders learned to organize, argue, and engage in political debate while in the KISZ alone justifies our activity, but it also draws attention to our responsibilities to educate suitable young people to become party members and to ensure that we are also concerned about the new generation. This is the order to life so that we can receive the most help in doing this from older and more experienced party workers.

We Have To Do More for Young People

We formulate the requirements of the age for ourselves thus: The KISZ, too, must do more to become a factor involved in directly shaping the immediate and larger environment of young people. Everyone must wage his own struggle. In every situation, young people should feel that the KISZ is behind them and is defending their truth. The guidance and support of the party organizations are also essential for this work.

There has been a further increase in our association's membership in recent years to over 900,000. More than half of our members are young workers. As a result of our efforts, several young manual workers found their way into the KISZ organizations. We must do everything to strengthen our word and influence accordingly.

We have to speak simultaneously to students, young workers, young agricultural workers, and intellectuals, and to several different age groups. This requires different emphases, arguments, and methods. We have to pay particular attention to secondary school students.

The speaker than spoke about formal features to be found in the youth movement. In the final part of his address, Hamori said:

The KISZ will continue to remain the united political mass organization of Hungarian youth. All the same, we need to improve our work among the various strata and age groups so that we can make it more effective. We bravely make changes. We have begun to draw up our plans and we are going to submit our ideas to the party Central Committee.

It is already obvious that we can only meet the many requirements and needs if work among the young people does not remain the monopoly of the KISZ. We support the trade unions, the PPF, the Federation of Technical and Scientific Federations, the Hungarian Sport Federation for National Defense, and the sports movement to organize clubs, associations, and programs for the youth. There is need for more and more interesting activities.

Last week we conferred a KISZ prize on the design collective behind the first Hungarian personal computer to be mass produced, namely the Primo, and it is worth stopping here for a few words. The computer is the symbol of our age. The design, production, and above all, the use of computers have become the way of assessing the success of the economy. We, too, the leaders of the KISZ, must adjust our methods to bring them in line with the training and requirements of the computer generation.

The youth have been and are characterized in many different ways. There is a very gloomy picture of youth painted in dark colors and this was rightly criticized; they are also described as carefree. Both these pictures are false. We are by no means carefree. Our generation has "human problems." It is in the interest of all of us to ensure that youthful dynamism and the energy that fully stretches the minds and bodies of young people should promote a cause that serves the interests of the whole of society. After all, the fate of the youth who follow us is the lasting responsibility of our own generation.

The communist youth movement was born almost simultaneously with the Communist Party in Hungary. This is a fact that conveys to us responsibility and commitment -- a message that has an effect to this very day. When I propose the Central Committee report and the draft resolution be approved, at the same time I promise, in the name of the KISZ and Hungarian youth, hard work, honest steadfastness, and responsible participation in the implementation of the program for the next 5 years.

Gyorgy Aczel

AU041011 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Mar 85 p 8

[Report on speech by Gyorgy Aczel, MSZMP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 26 March session of the 13th MSZMP Congress in Budapest: "For a Modern and Cultured Socialist Hungary"]

[Text] I join those of my fellow delegates who have expressed agreement with the congressional documents and the supplementary words of Comrades Kadar and Gyenes, he said, and then continued:

We have some turbulent years behind us and, I suspect, ahead of us as well. The past half-century has shown once more that we cannot make ourselves independent of what happens in the world. And it has also proven true once more that only through our constant desire for renewal can we stand our ground in the world. And we have stood and are standing our ground.

Another concrete reason for our current problems is the fact that, as a Marxist-Leninist party, we initiated new forms and new socialist solutions in major areas of socialist construction in recent years. We found new and, in most cases, good solutions. We have also erred, however. All this together has also created uncertainty and aversion, and this fact has taxed party members and nonparty people.

Ideological and cultural debates devoted primarily to our historic path, our fundamental values, and aspects of our economic and political development, have become livelier. Unfortunately, less has been said about culture itself.

In debates, some people blame present reality for not being a face of socialism such as had developed previously -- one which even then was erroneous in many respects -- while others express concern for our national development and consider traditional values to be in danger. Here and there, views alien to Marxism have become louder, something in which accelerating bourgeois propaganda also plays a role. There are people -- luckily, their number and influence are infinitesimal -- who, observing our difficulties, play upon a deterioration of the public mood and try to disrupt the national consensus that has taken the work of decades to achieve.

In the Spirit of the Struggle on Two Fronts

Not infrequently, during the debates of the past years, we had some people accuse us of boundless liberalism while simultaneously others accused us of an excessively rigid attitude and, accordingly, urged a sweeping "cleanup" or infinite tractability.

Our party has not yielded to either side in the period covered by the report. We continue to hold fast to persuasion, a consistent principled attitude, and debate as the cardinal instruments in intellectual life. The true nature of our theory is the prerequisite for this, and it remains true.

A creative application of theory and a struggle against our ideological adversaries -- in which indolence also occurs -- are prerequisites for our progress. Yet, at the same time, we must be patient toward those who sincerely seek the path of progress in today's complex world and who act consistently against any malicious intention that harms the cause of the community.

It was in the spirit of this two-front struggle that we passed important long-term resolutions concerning public culture, artistic and scientific policy, public education, and higher education, and we must continue to work in the same spirit.

The progress we have made in accomplishing the tasks formulated at the 12th congress, in unfolding the possibilities inherent in the human factor, as well as what we have to do to accomplish this in the future, constitute one of the most important questions in our assessment. This is a decisive question, because our history proves that whether the country lags behind or moves ahead is closely related to the standard of education, culture, and sophistication as well.

It is natural that our deliberations centered on political and economic matters. We also know, however, that the subject and fate of the economy is not only an economic question. A small country which is poor in raw materials, like ours, can give a good account of itself in international competition primarily through large-scale development, on a qualitatively higher level, and through the abilities and aptitudes inherent in people, professional competence [munkakultura], human relations, and general education.

There was a period in our historical recent past in which the fundamental principle that "man is the cardinal value in socialism" was discredited and worn down into a platitude. Having overcome distortions, we profess that the destiny of our society depends on human quality, and the ultimate goal of socialism is man itself.

We must not forget that the revolutionary workers movement emerged in history not only as a political, but also as a spiritual and moral movement. Our social order is the inheritor of all the values that have come about in the course of the history of mankind but, at the same time, it also means a new quality existence. This was referred to by Comrade Kadar when he spoke about aspects of ethics.

That is why people rightly become indignant in our country when they see participation in power distorted into arbitrariness and the order of freedom distorted into licentiousness without order. And that is why they rightly aspire to fundamental moral achievements that have developed in the course of society's coexistence ranging from helpfulness to understanding and solidarity and the pleasure and self-esteem of a job well done. Socialism was not meant only for world history but also for everyday use. Its laws are in force not only for the distant future but also for our present.

The most important institution for developing the capacities inherent in man is school. It is our great achievement that the generations growing up today spend an average of more than 11 years in school. The education, professional training, and world outlook of the new generation are greatly determined by school. It also has a task which is at least as important in contributing to young people's adjustment to society, to real life, and young people's orientation among the complex issues of our age, and the task of making them steadfast in the face of the never-ending contradictions of life.

Our schools should pay more attention to educating the community in a socialist spirit and laying the foundations of a world outlook. But the values of socialism cannot be taught merely as a curriculum. In educational institutions there is a need for an atmosphere which creates equal trust in the educational institution and in society, and where the syllabus and teaching are in harmony with the world outside the school. Even if it cannot do everything, school can still do a great deal to reduce inequalities of social origin and family disadvantages. But every young man should be aware of the fact that he himself is also responsible for his own fate, image, and for the manner in which he uses his opportunities.

Socialism, however, will never be able to give up one of its basic values, the struggle for social equality of opportunities as opposed to chance by birth.

In our school system, it is necessary to further improve, expand, and develop the mother-tongue education of national minorities living in our country.

We are following Lenin's teaching: the majority can never show enough consideration to the minority. This is one of our fundamental socialist national interests. In order for our schools to meet these manifold and difficult requirements, first and foremost the work of the teachers must be accorded considerably greater weight in our social system of values. This applies first and foremost to good teachers who bear the greatest burdens and who are doing the most for young people, our future. It is necessary to improve their training, their level of preparedness, and their independence and, if necessary, teachers and schools must be protected, even by the authorities, against the arbitrary exercise of power.

Significantly improving the situation of teachers, their living and working conditions, together with the cause of facilitating their activity in shaping human beings, is one of the country's fundamental tasks. Education and schools are our common cause, a national cause. School should be accorded respect. The family, the state, every enterprise, office, cooperative, trade union, all mass communications, and KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] should feel and accept the responsibility they bear for the young people.

The cultural policy which also serves the policy of alliance of the party is an organic part of MSZMP policy. We formulated this cultural policy some 3 decades ago and we are still following it.

This policy was characterized from the beginning by acceptance of the constancy of socialist construction and by separation from earlier distortions and crimes. This policy resulted in an upswing in intellectual life which brought outstanding results in every branch of culture and contributed to the advancement of our people, the stabilization of policy, and the creation of national unity.

The Culture and Alliance Policy

The communists Gyorgy Lukacs and Jozsef Lengyel were not the only outstanding representatives of our intellectual life who took an active part in our struggles. It is more than symbolic that, among the people invited to the MSZMP congresses and among the participants, we were able to salute Zoltan Kodaly, Gyula Illyes, Tibor Dery, Aurel Bernath, Peter Veres, Istvan Orkeny, Laszlo Nemeth, and Pal Szabo, to name just a few among the personages of our cultural life, who are unfortunately no longer with us. And I can add that these great creators were our fellow combatants and friends not only at the congresses which signify a holiday, but also in everyday activities, also when we often disagreed with them, but we always listened to each other's arguments.

For the first time in the history of our country a unified system of values came about, bringing a meeting between artistic life and cultural policy, worthy criticism and the judgment of an understanding community, and there was not even one single significant artist who was forced to create [his works] in opposition to socialist power, and every significant creation reached the public. In Hungarian history, where the opposition of artists was something going back over centuries, it is without precedent for arts, literature, and policy to function with such close unity in debate and in such an alliance as has been the case since the sixties.

New generations have grown up and are growing up, new endeavors are arising, new ideological problems have come about and are coming about, and we have had to pursue new debates. It is our responsible obligation now and also henceforth to renew this alliance between generations and also within generations.

I will mention here that we failed to notice in the meantime that a strange term had come into common usage in our country -- creative intelligentsia. This term applies almost exclusively to writers, artists, or those pursuing the abstract sciences. This is unacceptable. It is time that this recognition be given to employed researchers, to engineers involved in planning and development, to economists calculating resources and market forces, to plant geneticists, to doctors whose struggle to cure a man is different every time, to teachers with a creative spirit, to those organizing our industrial and agricultural enterprises, to specialists shaping and protecting our environment, and to people developing the means for processing information and transportation means. I presume that artists and scientists also agree with this. And let us not forget that there are some 600,000 intellectuals working in our country and one in three of them is a party member.

Knowledge is power. But art is also power because its role cannot be substituted by anything else and this role also grows increasingly with the widening of its audience. One needs responsibility in using this power. The arts are allies of socialism; they help it solve its tasks and spread its values.

As a result of the radical transformation that took place in living standards and conditions in the past decades, and the considerable increase in schooling, our people have become much more demanding and, last but not least, their cultural demands have also increased.

This is perhaps our greatest achievement even if we often fulfill the justified needs with difficulty. This often leads to justified dissatisfaction and criticism. No matter how many shortcomings we find in our work, or how difficult we feel the circumstances are, let us not forget -- and we cannot forget -- that we have quite a few achievements worth defending and preserving. We have to protect our flexibility toward artistic freedom born in the spirit of socialism and humanism and manifested in a multitude of tastes and styles. At the same time we have to protect and increase our intolerance of everything that is anti-human and against the arts. There is a need to protect freedom of scientific research, the openness of our intellectual life, and the principled nature of our debates.

Socialism is the society of conscious activity, of the conscious transformation of the future. There are always alternatives in history. In order to better understand them, our party will continue, as it has until now, to demand and require the help of social sciences, too. The joint activity of historians, economists, sociologists, and aestheticians, is also indispensable for the development of our political practice.

No matter what problems we have to solve, the road will never lead backwards, not to the dogmatic outlook which Lenin called the growing-pains of communism, not to the dead-end street which separates the fate of the nation from internationalism, nor even to the historically antiquated illusion of bourgeois democracy.

From the Fifties to the Sixties

Let me mention in this connection three issues of particular importance nowadays. A long list of works of art, scientific works, memoirs, and public statements deal repeatedly with the evaluation of the "fifties." This is correct, this is required. However, there are people who, in condemning the distortions and crimes of the fifties, question everything that took place in that period and scrutinize everyone who lived and worked in that period. It is historically just for us to state that what was created by hundreds of thousands, millions of Hungarian workers, peasants, members of the intelligentsia, can only be thought of with respect. Their self-sacrificing work, their efforts have become integral parts of our present and our future.

Together with the emphasis on continuity, however, we have also made it unmistakably clear up to now that the party rejected a policy unworthy of our movement. We share Lenin's statement that the seriousness of a party is also demonstrated by its severe attitude to its own mistakes and we must not confuse the party masses during those days with a leading clique whose distorted policy was the prime cause that eventually led to the counterrevolution which resulted in a national tragedy. Our party, through the past 25 years of its activity, has proved that it has conclusively broken with this policy.

It is also due to this that the renewal of the country began and was accomplished by the sixties -- millions changed their workplace and residence. A tectonic movement took place in Hungary which, due to socialism, was such that it led to an unprecedented development in the second half of the millenium of Hungary's history. We can say that another people lives in this fatherland and this people lives in a renewed fatherland. But we can also say that this great and positive change was accompanied by human sufferings and torment, too.

Socialism Is Definitively Our Nation's Future

More and more is said about the fate of the nation and about safeguarding national values and interests. Even under socialist conditions passionate debates indicate that national consciousness has not yet overcome its confusions. It is by now a historic fact that the future of our people, of our nation is conclusively tied to socialism. The working class, the Hungarian people have become a nation. The fate of our fatherland depends on "the standing of socialism." Our party, the internationalist party of socialist construction, represents the program of national progress, seeks and builds an alliance with every well-intentioned person. Any number of intelligent deeds springing from the active patriotism of "today's Hungarian" cannot be enough, but as far as nationalism is concerned, any number is too much.

Nationalism is a limited, narrow-minded, and dangerous answer to the great questions of national existence. It holds a general appeal for the emotions and passions and therefore it can be popular temporarily. And there are people who consciously count on it in a demogogic way.

But the nationalism of our age always runs counter to the real interests of the nation, of all nations. Nationalism is harmful in Hungary and everywhere, whoever uses it, for whatever reasons. One cannot answer nationalism with nationalism. In this we have historical experience, therefore we do not argue about it.

There is something to be cleared up concerning the debate that, happily, is emerging over democracy. In the past few years, as has also been said here, our good initiatives show where we come from and where we are heading. Nor will we have a different road in the future, either. Our program is a democratization process to be carried out through the assertion of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party and through its encouragement.

We have said many times that we are happy to learn new solutions from anyone. But it is a mistake if someone wants "to cure" the undoubtedly existing shortcoming of socialist democracy with the potion of bourgeois democracy. We want to enrich socialist democracy. Socialism offers completely new possibilities, for example through the solutions of workplace democracy that are unknown anywhere else. Economic organization and political practice are closely connected on this point. Socialist democracy is also a cultural program: It presupposes knowledge and a standard of behavior. It is asserted in places where there is demand for it and where better quality receives priority. This is particularly important in culture and in intellectual life.

Democracy is interference. Our society is the society of "it is my business, too." It is not the playground of irresponsible chattering or of leveling downwards. The arguments decide, not the tone. Real socialist democracy is the intelligent discipline of community seriousness. Nobody's life will become more comfortable just through democracy alone. This is a difficult school, but the life of the individual, the community, and the country will become more intelligent, more efficient, and richer by it.

Debate is also an indispensable condition of party democracy. The rules of Leninist democratic centralism should be asserted in the MSZMP. We have to debate in order to have things which we can jointly represent.

In harder times, of course, it is more difficult to represent often unpopular decisions. But a communist who stands before the people can weigh the validity of his words not only from the applause but also from the thinking, wondering faces. For the benefit of our party's unity of action we must continue to strengthen the proper unity of ideals.

The Greatest Reward

Finally, I would like to say something about the party. Socialism has never been built without a communist party, and we are the party, the sum total of communists, assuming responsibility for a greater community, the Hungarian people, and beyond that, for our internationalist ideals. And it is a good thing that the representatives of communists, as this hall also shows, come from different generations. We are happy to see many young people here too. The experienced middle-aged group, in their full vigor, form a reliable, firm block. And fortunately there are also people here who have found the sense of their lives in their many decades of service towards the party. The thought expressed by Petofi [Hungarian poet] expressed in the words that life "will not pay anything" for their self-sacrificing work, was the tradition of many people in Hungary until 40 years ago. Now the older and middle-aged generation can also say that they have received the greatest reward from fate: They have lived to witness our country's liberation, taken their share in creating the new social order, and this gives them the right to hope that the coming generations will create an even more developed, more modern, more democratic, more cultured socialist Hungary which will advance all the people even higher.

Sandor Gaspar

AU041304 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Mar 85 p 2

[Report on speech by Sandor Gaspar, MSZMP Politburo member and National Trade Union Council chairman, at the 27 March session of the 13th MSZMP Congress in Budapest]

[Text] Sandor Gaspar expressed agreement with the submitted documents and dealt with the question of how the communists working in the trade unions and the entire trade union movement -- in accordance with its purpose -- can serve as successfully as possible the attainment of the goals formulated in the documents.

The principles concerning the activity of the trade union movement are clear-cut, Gaspar said. These were confirmed by the Central Committee positions of October 1983. This Central Committee position, in my opinion, provides a secure principled basis for trade union activity, not only for us but also for our successors. In order, however, to be able to carry out our traditional tasks at an even higher standard and to be able to adjust to the new ones now, in the midst of our problems, we have to rethink our issues. Of course, in the course of the reflections, beside good and usable proposals, there are also ideas and suggestions emerging that we cannot use, for example, that the party withdraw from the economy and that we should allow the different economic processes to assert themselves according to their internal specific rules without any interference. At the other extreme, however, we also find proposals that the party should guide every process by direct means for the benefit of a tighter leadership. Of course, we cannot accept such opinions. Extremist requirements were also formulated on behalf of the trade unions. These requirements concerned both what we should and should not do. We could do nothing with these views.

The trade union movement has its adequate purpose and this must be fulfilled. The trade union movement has its own path which it has to follow. In the current situation, the trade union movement should fulfill its tasks more efficiently by adjusting to the social development. The workers, the trade union members, are firmly formulating this demand and this is the thing we have to seriously pay attention to.

Two Changes of Course in the Life of Trade Unions

During the past 40 years, the Hungarian trade union movement has changed course on two occasions -- two new eras began in it. First in 1945, when new possibilities and new prospects opened for the development of the trade union movement and the workers' unity. From the very first days following the liberation, the trade union movement undertook to participate in restoring war damages and played its part in the democratic transformation and the struggle for power.

It was primarily the workers class, the workers of large-scale enterprises, who tackled the problems brought about by reconstruction and worked almost without pay day and night to get life underway once more. Even at that time, the workers class, the workers of large-scale enterprises, proved that they are not only historically destined, but also suitable to fulfill a leading role. The trade union movement recommended thousands and tens of thousands of talented workers who have become respected leaders of the country in the most varied areas of life.

The cardinal significance of this first beginning of a new era was the fact that the trade union movement undertook not just to represent the interests of its members and to fulfill their requirements in a narrow sense -- for which, incidentally, there was very little possibility at the time -- but, fulfilling a historical mission, it participated in shaping the destiny of the entire country and the people as a whole and shouldered its share of the responsibility.

The second great beginning of a new era took place in 1957, following the counterrevolution, when, with the direction of the MSZMP in principle, we worked out in our country the principles and practice of a trade union movement operating under socialist conditions, restored the autonomy of the trade union movement, and created the prerequisites for the trade unions' freedom of action. The trade union movement has been developing on the basis of the Leninist principles ever since.

That is why there is no need for a modification of course today, but there is a need to develop methods, for two reasons. First, the socialism that is being built today has achieved great results. It produces historic values, and it satisfies many different kinds of requirements. It is natural, however, that the socialist society being built does not yet have the mature features we sometimes attribute to it. We cannot yet satisfy all realistic requirements. The most fundamental demands of the workers, something of which we are more than a little proud, have been fulfilled. The right to work and have full employment have become civic rights, socialist insurance has become universal, public education and caring for the health of the people have developed, and an equality of social success and a safety of existence are being accomplished. These values are particularly precious for us when we consider that they are absent in the larger part of the world, that the demand for "work and bread" is still a basic slogan of our class brothers.

This is one of the reasons for the fact that, having achieved our fundamental objectives, we must think about additional tasks. Another reason for us lies in the highly significant changes that have taken place in our socialist life in recent times. The trade union must examine centuries-old methods and views to develop their position, a position consistent with the interests of society, the members, and the working people alike.

We Further Any Useful Initiative and the Unfolding of Creative Forces

We are making preparations for the 25th Trade Union Congress. What this means for us is that we must work out exactly the tasks of the workplace and basic organizations, the activity of industrial branch and sector trade unions, and countrywide tasks as well. The resolution of the 13th congress is a great help in this, but, naturally, we must also consider our own experiences. In establishing our tasks, we must take into account the new forms of enterprise management, our changed incentive and regulation system, and the experiences of the enterprise business work partnerships. Thus, there are good instruments for enhancing enterprise independence and for efficient production. We expect these kinetic forces to increase the profitmaking and value-producing capacity of the people's economy. The trade unions support these endeavors and, by their own means, they further any useful initiative that increases the country's economic and moral strength. The trade unions help strengthen order and discipline, improve organization, intensify economy, and help all creative forces to unfold. We strive to progress in technological development, economical production, and make good use of human factors.

The task assigned to us in preparing the 25th Trade Union Congress is to reduce the formal features of our work, suppress bureaucratic constraints and the formal quality, and strengthen the movement-like aspect of our organization, the democracy of our internal life, and our relations with the members of the trade unions, millions of working people.

The calling of the trade unions is a complex one. In the debates of the economic and social problems indicated in the report in connection with issues concerning the standard of living, the working people brought up the question: Where was the trade union in these processes and what was its position?

The question is justified. In our country, not a single question that affects the living and working conditions of the working people can be decided without the trade unions.

Such a decision is never an easy one. These were measures we were obliged to take. For the sake of the country's future, we have decided in favor of the lesser evil, instead of the greater one. At such a time, the trade unions' dual function also is put to the test: On the one hand, we strengthen the workers' power and, on the other hand, we represent and safeguard the interests of the working people. The trade union assumes a share in socialist construction for this in the broadest sense of the term.

It is an erroneous belief that, if history has provided the opportunity for building a socialist society, then everything proceeds of its own accord. To minimize the danger of a mistake, it is necessary to expose interests and confront them with each other, to synthesize them, before a decision.

Requirements toward trade union activity in safeguarding interests are more specifically formulated today. The workers class brought the trade unions into being when it did so for the purpose of the representation and protection of its interests. Thus, in their entire history, the protection of interests has been, and continues to be, a typical central task of the trade unions. Methods must be adjusted and altered also in this from time to time. In doing so, the trade union proceeds from the realistic realization that a protection of interests divorced from economic policy, the successfulness of the economy, and the standard of the work performed does not exist.

A socialist society must insure a wider range of benefits and achieve a more extensive social policy than any other society. A system of social benefits has taken shape in our country, and the working people have become accustomed to it and regard it as a natural parcel of socialist achievements. Nevertheless, it will be necessary to go further in the long run. In the present economic situation, this is a difficult task.

One of our most painful debts is the position of old-age pensioners, the people who have worked creditably all their lives and who, fortunately, live long, but whose pension has depreciated, people who are no longer able to work to supplement their income because of their age. We must help, above all, the group of old-age pensioners. However, we must also see to it that workplaces look after their pensioners better and that, not least, families pay greater attention, without any social compulsion, to the old.

In his speech, Comrade Lazar referred to speeches of our miner comrades, to the fact that, in better times, the government will not forget the miners. It will not forget them, to be sure. Together with the government, we are already working on improving the position of the miners.

Also, we must consider more than before the matter of how and in what ways we should utilize manpower and the wage-fund. Concepts connected with the wages claimed by various social strata have been put forward in speeches at the congress, and rightly so, in my opinion. Of course, these must be brought up with respect not only to teachers and technical intellectuals, but with respect to other social strata as well. We must very squarely face up to one thing. When we began socialist industrialization, our whole position developed in such a way -- and this is no mistake or sin -- that the main endeavor was to insure that everybody has a job. Comrade Kadar has referred to this in his historical review. We produce what we produce, as long as everybody works! Yes, indeed! This was brought about by the situation, and I think it is a natural consequence of development that a process begun at that time continues even today and makes its impact toward egalitarianism.

Our economic policy has now entered a new phase. Efficiency has become important. The possibility of trying gradually to apply the principle of differentiated waging exists at the enterprises. We are weak on two points. We do not use manpower where it could be used with the greatest efficiency. And we cannot use the wage-fund so as to make it provide an incentive. However, let us not just talk about these things, but do them. The development of a fairer wage system, one that is more consistent with the current situation, has an effect of production, and provides more incentive, and must be started at the enterprises.

We Assert the Party's Leading Role

It is a great asset of our political practice that cooperation between the National Trade Union Council and the government has produced significant results. Of course, the partnership involves debates as well. With the exposure of interests and their confrontation with each other, these debates have now intensified. However, agreement must be reached in a responsible manner and in such a way that it is beneficial for the joint cause. The trade unions want to work as genuine partners with all state and economic leaders and all organizations. They do not want to fall back on the role of some sort of a consultant that is called in only as a last resort.

Ideological, organizational, and operational unity is a vital interest of the revolutionary parties throughout the world. However, there is one more demand imposed on a revolutionary party operating under socialist conditions: How does it avail itself of power, how does it exercise its leading role? This is a fundamental demand that is inseparable from the existence and future of a socialist society. Its correct fulfillment renders the direction of society competent and authenticates it in accordance with the fundamental requirements of socialist democracy. For the broad masses it creates a basis for identification with policy.

Characterizing MSZMP policy, Sandor Gaspar stressed: The MSZMP's activity has always been characterized by flexibility and courageous initiative. It had the political courage, strength, and flexibility to reformulate, after experiences and painful lessons, the prevalence of the party's leading role, the application of the policy of alliance, and the principles and practice of economic and social policy. The party has never become captive to outdated and obsolete views and methods. It professed and professes that one must constantly act for the sake of development. Doing nothing is unforgivable. Looking back on the past 28 years, we can conclude that the practice of a correctly interpreted leading role has constantly changed and followed requirements. There could not have been any other way, either, because this is indispensable for developing and implementing a realistic policy. The MSZMP is a leading force that is constantly prepared to renew itself, one of a creative character, of socialist construction, and it also encourages other organs to show initiative in their way of thinking and attitude in the same spirit. This interpretation and practice of the party's leading role is a key issue of our life today as well. That is why we uphold and assert the principle of the party's leading role. However, the principle must not be confused with practical methods. The principle is inviolable, but methods must be continuously perfected. This applies to the party direction of the trade unions as well. Prevalence of the party's leading role decisively determines also the activity of the trade unions. It is one of the principal prerequisites for the successfulness of trade union work. Therefore, the principle of the leading role of the party cannot be disputed, but its practice can be.

The Trade Unions Are Policy-Shaping Forces

Prevalence of the party's leading role is not identical with a belief in infallibility, not identical with constant approval. Therefore, the party regards the trade unions as a policy-shaping force that has its own opinion.

The more precisely they fulfill their specific vocation, position, and role, the more obvious it is that they are making a contribution to the efforts of a society building socialism, a contribution that differs not only from the activity of others, but which cannot be accomplished in line with the requirements by anyone else.

The trade unions are in a difficult position at the moment throughout the world. The program recommended in the congressional documents calls for a continuation of our economic policy. It is a correct and realistic program. Our objective is to increase the pace of economic development as far as possible. The burdens due to our capitalist debts must be further lessened. The decrease of real wages must be halted and, in the interests of the future, must be made more effective.

The increasing production must be accompanied by increases in consumption and in real income as well as the greater safety of income. We must strive to make the pace of consumer price increases lower in the future than in the past. If the rate of economic growth increases, it is possible to increase the number of dwellings built, mainly that of state dwellings. It is important to make sure that the dwellings are given to those who are indeed the most in need.

Our changing circumstances and goals require another kind of work, more disciplined and of a higher standard. This is often hindered by the weak organization of work, the low level of technology, the lack of steady saving, and inadequate professional knowledge.

There are still many unused possible resources in the work. We have to regard our most direct tasks as the utilization of the three-shift workday, the continuous operation of the machines, and the development of work organization, technology, and technical level. Material and energy saving should become organic parts of economic activity. Although there have been good initiatives, this is still not the case. It is necessary for these demands to already become requirements for the planners, then for the workers carrying out the work, and for the activity of everybody involved.

Based on the work competition launched in honor of the congress and of the 40th anniversary of our country's liberation, which has mobilized great masses, it is possible to advance in every workplace. We are grateful for the sincere willingness for action of the workers and the socialist brigades. The fundamental task of work competitions and competition movements continues to be that they be the driving force of the socialist construction work and of the shaping of socialist man.

In the difficult period of complex economic and social tasks, the arms race forced on us by the Western world, and the situation of coexistence with the imperialist world in order to avoid war, what else can we call on for help but the sober-minded capacity of judgment and creative zeal of the working masses? If we were able to overcome the ruins of war, if we were able to overcome the faith-destroying 1956, then why should we not be able to overcome our difficulties now, in peace, attracted by good interests, and be able to implement our socialist goals?

Our goal continues to be to make our life nicer, better, richer, and more humane. The workers are ready to make this come true. They are supporting every effort that aims to consolidate the achievements attained to date, to reduce the problems faced by our country, and to strengthen socialist development.

We agree wholeheartedly with the report, the draft resolution, because we see in it a continuation of the positive policy, of the socialist construction, and the easing of our problems. These are testing, beautiful tasks.

Miklos Ovari

AU051119 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Mar 85 p 2

[Speech by Miklos Ovari, MSZMP Politburo member and 13th MSZMP Congress Editorial Committee chairman, at the 28 March closing session of the congress in Budapest: "Report of the Editorial Committee of the Congress, Submitted by Miklos Ovari"; first paragraph is paper's introduction]

[Text] Under Pal Losonczi's chairmanship, the work of the congress continued Thursday morning. As the debate concluded, the chairman of the session gave the floor to Miklos Ovari, chairman of the Editorial Committee of the congress, who said the following:

Esteemed congress, dear comrades: I can report that the Editorial Committee has concluded its work. The Editorial Committee has verified that the draft resolution is consistent with the reports of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee and the supplementary statements of Comrades Janos Kadar and Andras Gyenes.

The comrade delegates who addressed the congress have expressed their agreement with the draft resolution. No proposals have been made to modify its content substantively, and this has facilitated the work of the Editorial Committee. Nevertheless, we feel that, taking into account what has been said in the debate, it would be proper to enrich the text of the resolution with a few accentuated sentences for emphasis.

Taking into account the debates preceding the congress and the positions adopted at party conferences as well, we recommend spelling out in the resolution of the congress that the party deems it its important task to follow with constant attention the development of the position of the workers class and that, although the development of the position of the workers class and the difference between city and village is diminishing, improvement of the living conditions of the village population continues to be an important task.

We Have Taken Into Consideration the Experiences of the Debates at Party Organizations

We considered it necessary for the resolution to note the importance of supervision. Therefore, we recommend the inclusion of a sentence in the resolution to the effect that the assertion of socialist legality demands consistent and resolute supervision and, as part of this, development of the people's supervisory work.

On the basis of party conferences and the views expressed, we recommend the formulation of the need for literature and the arts to contribute to enriching awareness of reality and to shaping the people's outlook on life and attitude.

Several people spoke at our congress about the importance of human factors. For this reason, we recommend that the resolution should also state that we are to help people's creative ability unfold by developing the sciences, culture, and education.

The comrade delegates also spoke emphatically about recognition for creative work and socialist values. They proposed -- and we are recommending that this be approved -- that this should be more strongly emphasized in the mass information media. Several people proposed even in the preliminary debates that we analyze individual issues more thoroughly and dwell on tasks in more detail.

The debate on the Central Committee congressional guidelines and the debate here, too, have been much richer in proposals and thoughts than is actually shown in the resolution. I do not consider this a mistake. On the contrary, I find it natural. Nevertheless, I propose that the resolution should not go into details.

If we want to have the most important message of the congress reach the party members and all the people, then we have to strive to have our resolution deal with the most important issues. It should not be an over-long and detailed piece of reading.

The draft resolution starts from the continuation of the party's political guideline. This is in harmony with the desire of our entire party and people and with the clear-cut position of the comrade delegates who took the floor. At the same time this means that the important decisions made earlier by the leading organs of the party -- I will mention only for the sake of example: decisions on trade union activity, on the youth movement, on economic management, on education -- continue to be in force. Therefore, it is not necessary to repeat them in detail in the current resolution proposed for approval. Another argument against detailed description of the tasks is also the fact that the work is not concluded with the adoption of the resolution. We could also say that only after this will work really start. The Central Committee and the executive organs of the party will work for the coming 5 years in the spirit of these decisions, and their most important task is to formulate the task concretely and work out a more detailed program for implementation of the decisions.

The Editorial Committee also concluded that the draft resolution should contain the most important experiences of the wide-scale debate that took place in Hungary during the preparation period of the congress with the active participation of communists and with the participation of a large number of our allies, the nonparty-member followers of socialism.

When the Central Committee approved the draft resolution, it already had at its disposal the experience of some of the party basic organizations and party conferences. But only later did the municipal, county party conferences and party conferences in cities with county rights adopt a position. Therefore, prior to the congress, we thoroughly reviewed the positions of these party conferences, and compared them with the draft resolution.

I consider it very important that the county-level party conferences took the same position concerning the main issues of policy, and this coincides with the opinion of the Central Committee. The positions of the party conferences, which of course were also mentioned in the speeches at the congress, do not require an essential modification of the draft resolution.

Based on the debate carried out in the congress, I dare to draw the conclusion that the esteemed comrade delegates will agree in adopting the Central Committee Report and the Central Control Committee Report together with the verbal supplementary statements. This means that the congress also has a guiding position concerning issues that do not appear in adequate detail in our draft resolution.

The Editorial Committee rendered the draft resolution more precise and improved it stylistically in several places. These modifications do not refer to the essential content, and, therefore, I ask the comrade delegates to refrain from any detailed description. I believe, however, that it is important for the text of our resolution to be more clear-cut, precise, and better from a linguistic point of view.

In the month preceding the congress, many letters arrived at the Central Committee. Every writer, without exception, was led by the intention to contribute to the work of the congress. I would also like to use this opportunity to inform the letter writers that we have read every letter attentively and have evaluated every proposal. No doubt many people recognize their thoughts among those in the draft resolution. Among the letter writers there were young people, adults in employment, pensioners, workers, peasants, and intellectuals. There were people who commented on the party's policy, and there were people who tried to make more general problems perceptible by writing about their own problems.

There were people among them who had been party members for many decades, and also non-party members who considered themselves communists outside the party. It was moving to read the observations set down by tired workers' hands and the well-considered formulations of intellectuals. And it is moving to know that many people took the effort not out of individual interests but out of the responsibility they felt for public matters, they studied the Central Committee guidelines, thought about it, and took up a pen to write.

We could not, of course, use part of these observations directly in the congress draft resolution. I think this is not what the writers expected, either. One of them formulated it thus: "With my letter, I would like to succeed in having somebody somewhere pay attention to problems that seem smaller than they really are." I find this observation very important. The congress is unable to regulate many important issues in detail. But if we want society to feel good, all our comrades in party, state, and public positions should deal with these matters that appear to be smaller.

I can say the same of many observations made in the congress that have not been included in the resolution. The words expressed here carry weight. An important task of the executive organs and apparatus of the Central Committee will be to study and, in its activity, make use of the observations made at the congress.

Lasting Basic Principles

Allow me, esteemed comrades, to speak very shortly about some issues of content that are closely related to the draft resolution. There has been an increase in the debates preceding the congress. This is understandable as the congress was prepared not only by the Central Committee, but by the entire party. These debates confirmed the basic principles that make our party the MSZMP. It is our duty to strengthen, safeguard, and develop them. One of these basic principles is that socialism is being built in Hungary and not something else. This is also the objective when we try to perfect economic management, when we develop state life, and when we profess freedom, cultural creativity, and scientific research. And this is the objective; this is the intention when this or that new idea does not fully work out, for which reason a modification is perhaps necessary.

For decades a cornerstone of our policy has been that our most important achievement is the people's power, and our primary duty is to defend and strengthen this. This, the development of socialist democracy and the strengthening of socialist national unity, is our historic program. We are aware that socialism does not develop spontaneously, that there is a need for a leading, organizing force. This is the revolutionary party of the working class which, in the course of its development, becomes the party of the entire people. Our party pursues the theory of Marxism-Leninism, but not dogmatically. Rather it considers it an indispensable pointer in practical work. We are working on the assertion of the Leninist principles and norms of party life, and this applies to the party's internal life and to the building of relations between party and masses alike.

Finally, I consider it to be a fundamental characteristic of our party that we are a patriotic and, at the same time, internationalist party. We reject national indifference and, at the same time, we also reject every manifestation of nationalism. We belong to the community of socialist countries; we are a part of the international workers movement when we build our relations with countries with other social systems on the basis of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence, or when, taking mutual advantages into consideration, we develop our economic relations. These lastingly valid principles of our party's policy can be found in the draft resolution, although we know that they seem to be a repetition. But the continuity of policy demands the repeated assertion of these principles.

Unity Is Our Main Force

Historical issues were also given relatively large scope in the congressional debates. I think this is explained not only by the 40th anniversary of our liberation, perhaps not even by the fact that arguable views, writings, and wrong positions have appeared -- less in scientific works, but more in memoirs and in public prints.

History, and the history of our movement as a part of it, are important for us because they help us understand the present and plan the future. They help us understand who we are, where we came from, and what we can become. We can argue about details, and we will argue, but it is an indisputable fact that liberation has brought a radical change in the life of the country, and has opened up possibilities for action and for a sensible human life full of content. It is also an indisputable fact that we were able to realize our epoch-making achievements -- about which the draft resolution also speaks -- because the party, representing the interests of the people and taking into consideration the socialist goals, put on the agenda the issues awaiting solution, and because it was able to remain a revolutionary party. This means, under our conditions, that we were able to overcome obstacles and distortions, and we were able to face our own weaknesses and mistakes, too. In the difficult days following the 1956 counter-revolution this was a party of renewal and reform and it has remained so under conditions of consolidation. We have also had debates, but in these debates, in the party's leading bodies, including also our present 13th congress, the battle was not between conservatives and pro-reformists, rather, adherents of socialist development debated and sought solutions most suited to the situation. This unity, which is our main strength, is one of the most important starting points of our results and a guarantee of the implementation of our future plans.

In my opinion, the draft resolution touches on the most important issues of our past in this spirit. And with regard to the future, the draft resolution contains our most important tasks for the next 5 years. The congress was united in supporting the proposal for the resolution. I am confident that this same unity will also be evident in the implementation. The Central Committee also submitted to the congress proposals relating to the modification of the regulation on organization. The comrade delegates supported the submitted proposal. No observations for further modification have been received. Therefore, I propose that the esteemed congress approve the modifications proposed by the Central Committee, according to the formulation submitted.

In conclusion, on behalf of the Editorial Committee, I express my thanks for the esteemed comrade delegates' confidence and ask them to approve our report.

POLITYKA ARTICLE ON 'POLITICAL ALIENATION'

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[Janusz Reykowski article: "Political Alienation in Poland"]

[Text] The existence of important groups of society that are ill at ease in Poland is an important political phenomenon in our country. These groups view our social order as inequitable and as scarcely effective in ensuring economic progress. They feel no solidarity with our state in its present form, keep their distance from it, and sympathize with those who actively oppose it. These groups are dominated by helplessness, distrust in the present and future, and a sense of alienation vis-a-vis whatever is official. We could say that we are being faced with the phenomenon of political alienation on the part of certain groups of society.

This phenomenon asserts itself in most countries of the world, including the richest ones and those that are regarded as the most democratic. However, the impact of this phenomenon on public life depends on its intensity and range. In the case of the communities that are small and on the "periphery" of society (ethnic minorities and paupers), this impact is not very great. In the case of large groups of society and those that play an important role in the social division of labor, the situation is quite different. It seems that this is precisely the situation we now have in our country.

Before we can analyze this phenomenon, we should, above all, measure its range. An objective judgment in this regard is not easy because ideological rage and the interests of political struggle incline one to make extreme judgments. The adversaries of our system proclaim that a sense of alienation, wrong, and even aversion to or hatred of our political system is a spiritual state that dominates the Poles and is true of all our people except those who are aliens in our society or those who are mentally incapable of comprehending the events around them and and of sharing a sense of alienation. On the other hand, there are people who claim that the phenomena of political alienation are true of relatively small groups of people who are under the influence of the external adversaries of People's Poland and of people who see their narrow and selfish interests in the system based on private ownership.

These views are openly partisan. The image of Poland resulting from the polls held among our people by various teams of sociologists, who profess various scientific and political orientations, does not confirm those views.

Above all, those polls show that the features of political alienation differ in intensity and range in various groups of society. They are rarer and weaker among persons with primary or less than primary education and with jobs involving lower skills than among persons with better education and jobs requiring higher skills. At the same time, the groups of society with better education, especially the intelligentsia, show a very strong polarization of positions. Aside from the larger groups affected by alienation, there are groups that show a great degree or identification with our political order. The data shows that the former groups are decidedly more numerous.

The question is: What are the reasons for political alienation in some groups of society?

Without attempting to advance a "general theory" as to why this is so, let us examine those reasons that are responsible for alienation in our country, especially among the better educated groups of society. I think there are four reasons.

The first is the position of a given group among other groups -- a position that may give rise to an inferiority complex. At first glance, the view that better educated people, including intellectuals, can suffer from an inferiority complex may seem absurd. "Inferiority" can be a reasonable state of affairs among Latin American peasants, Puerto Ricans, the urban poor in the United States, the foreign immigrants in many European countries, and so on. In Poland, in which, according to Professor L. Beskid, the per capita income among families of the intelligentsia is higher than in other families (primarily because of the size of families and because of the different proportions of work between intelligentsia and workers' families), in which the intelligentsia has a much better chance to profit by from secondary and higher education (as demonstrated by the number of children of intelligentsia at secondary and university schools), and in which cultural participation by the intelligentsia is greater compared with other groups, the thesis about the inferiority complex may appear as a glaring distortion of reality.

We should bear in mind that the people evaluate their positions based on their own criteria and not someone else's. People compare their current situation with their situation in the past, with the situation of similar groups of society in other countries, and with the system of norms that are observed in a given society. For the educated groups of people, each of those criteria is unfavorable with regard to their situation.

In the times before the socialist changes, the situation of the intelligentsia was especially privileged vis-a-vis other groups of people. For example, a civil servant was paid more than twice that of a worker. In those days, the intelligentsia, which was about 15 times smaller in number than other groups of people, enjoyed a very high standing in society, but as soon as access to the intelligentsia was greatly enlarged, its privileges were drastically curtailed.

In the past 25 years, the material position of the intelligentsia has also deteriorated. For example, if we examine the average wages in various sectors of the national economy from 1960-80, we can see that the sectors staffed with many university-educated workers became gradually worse off than other sectors and that this phenomenon was intensified during an acute period of our crisis.

Comparisons with other countries are also unfavorable to many intelligentsia professions in Poland. This is true of socialist countries (in the case of scientific workers, for example) and of the less developed capitalist countries. The situation in rich capitalist countries is slightly different. The generally high living standards in those countries may prevent an outside observer from noticing that intelligentsia professions may differ greatly in material status -- from those prosperous such as physicians and specialists in technology through those whose position is not much different from the workers.

Perhaps it is the comparison between the ideal concept of what things should be and reality that is the most important criterion of evaluating one's own position. Let us note that in the first few years of socialist rule, efforts were made to develop a vision of economic, social, and cultural progress that was primarily based on the educational advancement of people. This was not only a programmatic idea and a propaganda slogan but also a massive development of educational institutions and an enormous growth of educational opportunities. This idea of advancement through education was consistent with the system of values of the intelligentsia and with the requirements of the present-day world in which science and universal increases in educational standards became part of the crucial conditions for progress.

The social processes that took place in Poland at that time began to gradually depart from that program. The importance of education began to diminish in Polish society. This was signally attested to by the drop in the importance of such a value as "education" in the hierarchy of values of Polish society. This drop became very obvious in the seventies. (Dr Koralewicz-Zebik has recently analyzed this phenomenon in an article published by STUDIA SOCJOLOGICZNE.)

This apparently unimportant fact is of enormous moral and political significance: The groups of people who link their social identity to a phenomenon whose importance for society continues to diminish are bound to feel themselves degraded. This phenomenon of degradation is moral and material as indicated by the previously mentioned process of the relative deterioration in the material standards of various groups of the intelligentsia as compared with other groups of society. It should be added that this deterioration is absolute in times of crisis, but that this is true of all groups of society.

However, the position of the intelligentsia involves more than the material position and the role of education in the system of values. It also has other aspects, and one of them is "access to power." Unlike other countries, in Poland an intelligentsia background has not made it easier for one to enter the corridors of power.

The public evaluation of the intelligentsia is another important moral-psychological aspect. Because the way in which the intelligentsia is spoken of generally, from elevated forums, and by representatives of other groups of society is quite critical, and because the intelligentsia (aside from the so-called private initiative) is one of the main bodies against which claims are being raised for the negative course of events in Poland, members of the intelligentsia are bound to be negatively affected, especially in view of the fact that the statements are made about them acquire very violent forms at times. For example, statements have been made that "those thousands and thousands of intellectuals are of no use to us," that "workers need the people with master's degrees only when they help them," and so on. These statements contain not only criticism of the intelligentsia's contribution is public life, but also the conviction that the intelligentsia is a group in society whose destiny is to "serve the ruling class." This means that the autonomy and sovereignty of the intelligentsia are being put in doubt.

For the time being let us ignore the reasons for these phenomena and let us just state that, regardless of reasons, the processes described in this article are bound to have a crucial impact on the condition of the intelligentsia.

Mentioning the condition of the intelligentsia, I do not want to suggest that only this group of people has been affected by the negative impact because the role of education has been diminished as a criterion of position in society. After all, it is not hard to see that highly skilled workers are not among the elite of society either. The prestige and material position of these groups is not distinctly different from the position of the groups with lower qualifications. It is true that there are considerable differences among the branches of work in our country, but the differences among the complicated nature and quality of work are not considerable. What compounds the differences is the time spent on work and quantitative achievements.

Concluding this section of arguments, I have to state that material and moral factors have together compounded the fact that the conditions of the groups of people with better education, including the intelligentsia in particular, have greatly deteriorated. This is not without an impact on the process of political alienation.

There are also political reasons for this state of affairs. The point is that there is a considerable divergence between the principles in line with which the political system in Poland operates and the concepts of many groups of people (above all, of the aforementioned better educated people) of "what things should be." There is considerable divergence between what these groups of people mean by "democracy" and "political freedoms" and what the ruling forces in Poland mean by these terms.

These groups' concepts of democracy and freedom were shaped up in the past by political pluralism, which allows the political forces that present differing programs to struggle against one another and to implement the program that gains majority support; by the view that the flow of information within society must be free and completely unimpeded and that access to information must be free; by the view that the individual is free to express his opinions and to move about the world; and by the view that people can freely form any organization and association they please.

In principle, any of the aforementioned views is consistent with the doctrine of the state of people's democracy as recorded in the PPR Constitution. However, there exist in practice many obstacles to the implementation of those doctrinal principles, so that the way in which our political system operates departs more or less from these principles.

The fact that there is a divergence between the concept of what the social world should be and what is really is cannot be regarded as something exceptional, because it is a universal fact. The reaction to this divergence depends on its interpretation. This divergence can be accepted if the departure from the principles of the political system is considered as necessary in a given historical situation; in this way, the lover of freedom is ready to give up freedom and to subordinate himself to the discipline of the army which fights for freedom. It is also possible to come to terms with the departure from the principles of the political system if one agrees that this departure is a "natural" consequence of the actions of the elementary forces in society that cannot be controlled. However, if that departure is regarded as a result of the arbitrary decisions made by the rulers for the sake of their parochial interests, or as a result of their view of the world being false, or as a result of their political philosophy that one does not share, then the departure in question can be considered "unbearable."

The groups of society we have in mind view the political practice in our country as a result of the fact that those who have force at their disposal impose their will on others arbitrarily and not as a result of adapting the forms of power to the special needs of the people at a given moment of history.

Why do they view that practice in this way? It is obvious that one can have differing concepts about the needs of the people and about the requirements of the historical situation. However, it is hard not to see that one's own experience -- above all, the situation of one's own social group -- must play an enormous role in assessing those needs. That is why, if state policy is viewed as an attack against the interests of the groups of people in question, this policy is bound to affect their ideas on whether it is consistent with the needs of the people.

However, this does not clarify everything. In particular, we have to state that it is impossible to comprehend these views effectively if we ignore symbolic factors, which I would rather include among the third kind of reasons for political alienation in our country.

These factors operate in a volatile and subtle sphere of personal and national symbols, a sphere which is enormously important.

They are present in the interpretation of traditions and in the thoughts of contemporary times. This is an area that is filled with collective experiences rather than with a knowledge of the facts, with myths and fancies rather than with verified theories and plans. This area is a record of the events and persons who are regarded as national sanctities, of the world of heroes, martyrs, friends, and enemies, of wrongs, and of victories. What is most important, this area is a record of certain essential values.

One must not look down on this world, because it is present in each one of us, although we differ in our attitudes towards it and we accept some elements of this collective national world and oppose others.

It is difficult to deny that this "world of values" includes many elements that are in conflict with the political rules governing the state's actions. One such element is our attitude toward other nations. This can be illustrated to some extent by the results of a poll on the attitudes of students in a certain city toward their own country and toward other nations. This poll was carried out not so long ago by Zbigniew Necki, who found out among other things that the students he questioned said that.... France is the most friendly country toward Poland and Poles. It is hard to see any rational reasons for this view, which must be a result of the collective myths born in some distant past, myths that have never been corrected by the genuine experience of history. This example concerns a relatively minor issue. However, discussing the contents of this issue might trigger strong emotions. That is why I ignore these contents on purpose, because it is not my intention to incite strong emotions in readers. All I want to do is to communicate with them on an intellectual plane.

That the world of national values can contain lofty contents side by side with harmful prejudices and unjustified hopes is nothing unusual. Both the individual and collective "subconsciousness" may contain thoughts that are in glaring conflict with the requirements of rational thinking and action, and this may be the case with everyone to a certain extent.

The question is to what extent things that happen in the sphere of the mass media can be reconciled with the world of values. Well, we can risk asserting that what is defined as "official propaganda" not infrequently displays a low level of sensitiveness to those values and, generally, to those phenomena. That is why the mass media are full of things that "clash directly" with the world of the values professed by many groups of society. The results of such clashes are catastrophic: He who does not share the common world of values must be classified as "alien", and he who attacks this world must be classified as hostile.

However, he who knows how to adapt himself to that world can "make large political capital." In Poland we have press organs which, sticking to this principle, score large popular and political successes.

It should be added that some people regard it as a virtue that, not succumbing to "collective subconsciousness," "irrationality," and "national mythology," they speak bluntly about reality "as it is," without beating about the bush. However, this is often only an assumed virtue.

It is assumed because proclaiming the "truths" that are in glaring conflict with the subjective experience of the community -- this experience is recorded in its system of values -- is bound to be rejected and condemned as falsehood.

Second, it is assumed because the views and opinions that express the requirements of expedient policies and that represent the special attitudes of their owner and are colored by his wishes are prejudices are not infrequently proclaimed as "truths."

In this way the sphere of public communiations only too often looks like a place in which some myths are attacked by other myths and not like a place in which collective efforts should be made to establish the truth by fighting all kinds of myths.

One can, in my opinion, add to the above one more category, the fourth, of factors which bring about the phenomenon of political alienation among the social groups under discussion here. These factors may be described as a feeling of powerlessness toward the low quality of life and the bad functioning of institutions.

This low quality permeates all spheres. It is workshops that possess low quality most of all. Wherever we look, whether a school, hospital, factory, office, or laboratory, equipment, appearances, quality, material, maintenance, esthetics, and organization all possess a low quality, sometimes a very low one. The same applies to other areas of life such as the state and appearance of housing blocks, shops, service points, and of recreation areas. Concerning every one of these areas and many more, Poland is a country dominated by a low standard of working conditions, products, and productivity.

One can ask whose fault it is that such a low standard has spread in Poland. Is it the fault of those who criticize it and did not take part in creating and maintaining a good standard?

Regardless of how much truth there is in the above accusation, it is also true that an individual feels helpless at what surrounds him and sess no way of effectively opposing it. More than one person has experienced a situation where efforts to improve something get tangled in an unending number of obstacles stemming from a lack of basic things, the inefficiency and indifference of institutions whose cooperation is essential in order to make changes, and opposition from people. Some people accept the status quo, and regard it as normal, whereas others vent anger and accusations at those whom they regard as responsible for the shape of social life. They believe that it is because of their incompentence or bad will that millions have to live in these very conditions. This dissatisfaction with and voicing of accusations against the organizers of life will be all the stronger among those who have had an opportunity to see that in many other countries similar areas of life are organized much better than in Poland and that the quality of life as perceived abroad is much higher than ours.

While presenting the factors leading to political alienation in the above way, we face the following question: Where do they come from? Why have they occurred in our country and to such a large extent?

The answers given to this are varied. Very often one can meet two opposing "theories" behind the phenomenon of alienation. According to the first theory, which is very popular among those who distrust and dislike the present form of authority in Poland, the "entire fault" rests on those who fulfill a leadership role in the state. It is they who wage a policy which pauperizes the intelligentsia and neglects its role. In order to consolidate their own power, they deprive numerous social groups (in fact, society as a whole) of its political subjectivity, reduce the authenticity of representative institutions to a minimum, and replace public opinion by their own opinion, disguised as votes.

It is they who, feeling no real ties with culture and national tradition, ignore the values and symbols which enjoy universal respect and try to impose their own ideological concepts and system of rules. Finally, it is they who, through their incompetence or perhaps bad intentions, have made the quality of life in Poland so drastically different to the quality encountered in many other countries.

One can also find the view that it is the intelligentsia which is to blame for the existing state of affairs. It is the intelligentsia's overblown aspirations which make it demand unjustified privileges. Does heavy and dangerous work not deserve greater rewards? It is the intelligentsia's ambition to play the dominant role in the state's political life that is the chief reason behind the demands for changes inside political institutions -- meaning changes which would offer the intelligentsia the greatest chances. As far as the symbolic sphere is concerned, those intelligentsia circles which regard themselves as guardians of national traditon wish to halt those changes which would deprive them of this role. Finally, as far as the quality of life and work is concerned, although many accusations can be made against the intelligentsia, no one is designing new buildings, teaching, healing, and performing administrative and leadership functions like the intelligentsia. Should it therefore not blame itself for the quality of everything in Poland?

I believe that both views presented here do not grasp the Polish reality correctly and that both commit the same sin of "psychologism." I mean the assumption that the method of exercising authority and economic policy, in other words everything which determines the fate of society, depends to a large extent on the views of the governing groups and on their thoughts and character. Also involved is the assumption that the needs and aspirations of large groups of society may be described in the same terms as the whims of teenagers.

The thesis of this article is the view that the political, economic, and other solutions adopted by the governing political forces are an expression of adaptation to the requirements of the social strata represented by these forces and to the historical circumstances in which these requirements are meant to be implemented. As far as the political forces and took power in Poland after the war are concerned, their "raison d'etre" was meant to be the material, education, and political advancement of the masses, an essential condition for which was meant to be a rapid economic development. They were also meant to protect the integrity of our national borders, acting for the sake of a consolidation of the post-Yalta political relations in Europe. The performance of these tasks had to give birth to discrepancies and social conflicts, conflicts stemming from the difficulty of reconciling the accumulation of resources for development and raising the nation's standard of living, as well as conflicts resulting from changes to the rules by which various classes and strata have access to national assets and from different views about Poland's interests by various political forces. These conflicts were meant to be overcome and the strategic tasks performed by a strong, single system of power embedded primarily in those strata of whose interests it was the spokesman.

The opponents to this system say that the apparatus created by it only implements its own egoistic interests. Such a statement in the context of the 40th anniversary is clearly false, regardless of how much corruption, soullessness, and collective egoism there has been and what concrete examples of this may be given. The malicious biased nature of this statement is revealed when one compares the situation of broad masses in Poland with the same situation in countries which have the same economic potential as us (and not 5 or 8 times greater) and which have selected the nonsocialist development path. It suffices to ask which social classes in those countries have profited by progress, and which of them remain in abject poverty and are socially handicapped.

There is no point in listing what has been achieved concerning the situation of the masses in Poland. Propaganda repeats this at every opportunity, causing boredom and even aversion among its listeners if the same topic is discussed one more time. At the same time, one cannot deny that regardless of all these achievements, the inequality of opportunities in Poland has not been eliminated, and neither have the often profound shortcomings.

But the conditions have been created for universal social security. In the space of a few decades, we also established conditions guaranteeing the social advancement of a large part of the nation. It is this very policy which means that the population's basic strata have accepted the system of authority in Poland; however, as many people have turned against the authorities as have renounced this policy for various reasons and at various times.

I believe one can say that it is the ambitions, aims, values, and imagination of these basic social groups that forms the "chief bulwark" of the political system in Poland. This sets the pattern of choice concerning solutions to many fundamental economic, political, and social issues.

Let us consider the issue of different incomes; both the material interests of these social strata as well as their concept of justice speak against broad differences in incomes. It has been determined, for example, during the research carried out by Professor S. Nowak, that the lower education is, the more frequent demands for economic egalitarianism are. It is no wonder that (as analyses by a team led by B. Gorecki show) the differences between incomes in Poland are clearly less than in countries with a market economy. The entire system of mechanisms such as central distribution, full employment policy, rationing, and distribution of assets outside the market is acting in this direction. The qualities of this policy have made themselves particularly visible during the time of crisis; the drop in real income of people with better wages has been far greater in relative terms than of people with better incomes fell to the level they enjoyed in 1973, the standard of living of people with worse incomes fell in 1982 to the level they had enjoyed in 1977. This excludes small groups who managed to "profit by the crisis."

Let us consider political-social values. Once again we can refer to S. Nowak and say that the demand for "citizens' influence on the running of the state" has not gained very great approval among people with low education, whereas a considerable proportion of people interviewed from this category expressed approval for a strong central authority and for obedience from citizens toward the authorities. In other words, a monocentric authority which cares for the needs of citizens suits the mentality of this group of people better than a pluralistic authority which in theory gives everyone the chance to be politically active, but in practice only people with a better world orientation and more educated forms of political activity may avail themselves of this chance. Thus, fears of "pluralism" are fears that forces possessing different political and social goals and values may seize power. Connected with the implementation of these goals is the danger of upsetting the postwar balance of forces in Europe, which could bring mortal danger to the Polish raison d'etat.

We will not continue this analysis. There is not enough room. What has been said may be enough to illustrate the thesis that the "class nature of authority" furnishes criteria which control the making of basic choices. This does not alter the fact that there may be a lack of consistency and a departure from these criteria. Such departures (as was the case in the second half of the seventies) increase the alienation of social strata which supported the political system previously. This leads to the emergence of a "broad front of dissatisfied people," which threatens the state with profound destabilization. The need to regain the necessary stability provides strong pressure to restore and strengthen solutions which may be accepted by these very strata.

Assuming that the above "political alienation" phenomena among certain social groups in Poland are connected with political mechanisms meant to serve the interests of broad masses of people and national security, we are faced with the following question: Is it really in the long-term interests of these masses of people to accept a situation in which certain important sectors of society feel themselves cut off from the rest of society? Does this situation serve in the long run to increase national security, or does it augur serious danger?

Today, when it happens that the economic development mechanisms used so far have been exhausted and the continuation of extensive forms of development is no longer possible, is it not in the vital interests of the entire nation, including its broad masses, to reach for the reserves provided by the best educated and most energetic sectors of the nation?

Does this not mean that it is immensely important to conquer the feeling of alienation that has effected a large part of the nation?

However, removing the causes of this phenomenon is not an easy task and can certainly not be performed quickly. For it is impossible to stage a fundamental about-face from the principles which have controlled social life in Poland so far. In particular, it is impossible for an entire system based on implementing the interests and values of a huge mass of people to suddenly renounce these interests and values, or suddenly change its views as to their best implementation. That is why complaints that the introduction of the reforms designed to alter the rules of the system's functioning is too slow and not effective enough, and accusations that stupidity and conservatism are the reasons behind this delay, seem to miss the essence of the problem, in other words, that the radical implementation of changes clashes with the immediate and direct interests of important social strata.

On the other hand, neither is it possible that the prospects of communities who feel themselves alienated should suddenly change, since these prospects are dictated by their vital interests and embedded in a mentality formed over entire generations.

Thus, there are profound objective obstacles on the road to achieving quick and generally acceptable changes to the current state of affairs. However, this does not mean at all that the situation does not leave possibilities for action and that it is completely impossible to formulate a policy which would improve the existing state of affairs. This is not only possible, but essential in a world in which rapid progress is a challenge to nations, especially to a nation like ours in the center of Europe.

Assuming the above, we must seek answers to the question: What can be done to remove political alienation from our lives?

Guiding ourselves by the above analysis, four issues should be presented.

The first concerns qualifications as a criterion for social (including material) distinction. I do not mean whether the possession of qualifications themselves or their effective use should be rewarded. But the real question is whether the difficulty and heaviness of work should be the basis for reward, or the inconvenience and heartache caused by it, or the level of qualifications required by it. It is interesting that in the dispute on the subject of the above criteria that took place in the columns of POLITYKA recently in connection with S. Kwiatkowski's article entitled "Who Deserves What," quite strong was the voice of those demanding that market criteria be applied to work, in other words, that the greatest remuneration be applied to those jobs and professions for which there are the least number of candidates (just like in the law of supply and demand). There are no obvious ethical reasons why some criteria should be placed above others, and it is quite natural for some dominant groups in society to concentrate on those criteria which are best from their point of view.

Some people draw from this the conclusion that in a state in which the workers class plays the leading role, the difficulty of work and the availability of it should be the most important criteria because they express the interests of this class. This point of view bypasses two important aspects of the matter: First, it fails to take into account the fact that in modern societies, the workers class differs greatly in terms of education and type of employment, and that there are workers class sectors which will support the criteria of "difficulty" and those that will defend the criterion of qualifications. (N.B: Workers who wrote to POLITYKA in connection with the above discussion represented both views).

Second, it also fails to take into account the fact that in a country like ours, various social strata, classes, and groups, apart from having different interests, also possess a common basic interest, and this common interest should supply the most important criteria for assessing one's contribution to social life. I share the opinion of those who believe that this common interest is to overcome the barriers to social and cultural progress which our country has come across and the need to face up to the challenge of today's times posed by the rapid rate of change in the world today. Motivated by this, it seems necessary to give prime importance to the complexity of work and the level of qualifications.

The point is not to present in an anachronistic way physical labor (where hands are used) or mental work (where heads are used). The point is the clear promotion of mental work, because it is this work that pulls society forward.

The second issue requiring understanding is the aspiration of individual groups for autonomy and subjectivity. These ambitions are the inevitable result of the growth of society's education and the increased influence of the democratic values which are an integral part of the Polish cultural heritage.

One has to admit that the solutions existing in Poland collide with the ambitions of some groups -- I have in mind activity for the sake of developing self-management inside factories, certain changes to the legislation governing people's councils, and the broad powers of student self-management bodies inside educational institutions (these currently being the subject of violent dispute). Such forms as the new trade unions and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] also seem to play an important role for individual sectors of society.

But we also know that collective society, which is the subject of this analysis, is not satisfied with these solutions. Does this mean that both sides should "turn their backs" on each other, or wait until the dissatisfied ones change their minds and join PRON or until the authorities are "forced to make concessions" and introduce a "pluralistic democracy?" Rather than this, both "scenarios" envisage a long period of time during which the present moods will continue (and maybe even sharpen), including the continuation of alienation to a great extent. It seems that if matters are not to get stuck at a blind spot, it is essential to seek new solutions which may appeal to the political imagination of the social groups discussed here. One receives the impression that for the time being, the very seeking of such solutions is halted by fears that bolder steps could lead to a repetition of 1981.

The third issue concerns treatment of the symbolic sphere, what we have euphemistically called the national subconscious. In this case, forms of public expression play a particularly important role. It ought to be said that the forms used so far are most suited to the needs and imagination of the "mass receiver" to which the political system is tuned: Much is done to rid public information of contents which harm the values and imagination of these groups and which could have a persuasive effect on them. However, one searches with difficulty for serious efforts to find a "common language" with groups of society which have been described as experiencing a state of political alienation.

It is true that these groups are not making this task any easier. Nevertheless, it seems that without a marked improvement in communicating with these groups, it is difficult to foresee any progress in combating political alienation.

Finally, the fourth issue is the question of quality. One cannot imagine the possibility of organizing a campaign leading to rapid and radical changes in this sphere. The present state of affairs depends on factors which cannot be changed rapidly and easily; on the state of the economy and on the degree to which low standards are widespread. The struggle against this state of affairs means creating conditions for the emergence of local (and not only foreign) patterns of higher standards of life and work. Such patterns are often suppressed under the slogan of battle against elitism and for equality and justice. This naive concept of justice must result in the fact that by not presenting the possibility of interchange with better forms of life, it deprives incentive-bringing elements of the very incentive to raise standards. But incentive alone is not enough. It is also necessary to create conditions acting as an incentive for those who wish to struggle for better standards and which reduce the helplessness of individuals and groups toward the opposition surrounding them.

## CONFLICT PREDICTED AS STATE SEEKS CURBS ON CHURCH

PM111056 Paris LE FIGARO in French 9 Apr 85 p 4

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Poland: Toward a Large-Scale Conflict"]

[Text] Warsaw -- The Easter vacation in Poland this year saw a marked increase in tension between the church and the state.

The turning point seems to have been January's trial of Father Popieluszko's murderers, a trial which sparked strong propaganda attacks on the opposition parties that the government accuses of misusing religious freedom for political ends. However, the Polish Episcopate says it is convinced that the coincidence with the Torun trial may be fortuitous: Indeed there are reports showing that the attack on the church had in fact been planned for a long time and was aggravated by Father Popieluszko's tragic end.

However, for their part, the authorities maintain that nothing has changed in their policy toward the church. They claim they still want appropriate relations with the episcopate. The aim is apparently only to stamp out abuses. The state, it seems, would like to have relations of detente and peaceful coexistence with the church, and this, as has been seen in international relations, not only does not rule out, but rather implies the bitterest ideological confrontation.

Unfortunately, when it talks of ideological confrontation, the government actually goes much further. Its real attitude is revealed by the internal cabinet document classed as "confidential," about which I recently wrote in these columns. It does, of course, stress in particular that good relations with the church are important and that they should even be increased to combat social ills such as alcoholism, drugs, and so forth. But, at the same time, among the most worrying phenomena that must be combated in 1985, the Council of Ministers included the church's presence in social, intellectual, and public life, and this, of course, is unacceptable to the Episcopate because it is no longer an ideological battle, but the elimination of all religious influence outside the churches.

### Suicidal Policy

In addition to the desire the suppress the anticommunist positions adopted by committed priests who are merely a secondary phenomenon, the aim is primarily to oppose:

-- too extensive a program of church building, which the newspaper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI condemned last week (forgetting that this program is merely making good a long delay), condemning even the public address system used in religious ceremonies on the grounds that they cause a nuisance and do not conform to the censorship law.

-- normal distribution of the Catholic press which, like Warsaw parish weekly PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI, is having its paper supply reduced, endangering its existence, not to mention increasingly frequent interference from censorship.

-- "the increase in the negative effects of religious proselytism in university circles, thus undermining the process of socialist education of students," as the Council of Ministers document said.

-- the spread of the Catholic youth movement Oasis in schools, the development of chaplaincy in secular scout groups, and even the attempt by the church to set up a scout organization.

-- the organization by the Catholic Church of free vacation camps for children.

-- the church's growing influence in enterprises, rural districts, health services, and even schools.

-- the tendency of artists and intellectuals to seek "the protection of the church's patronage."

-- the Polish Episcopate's aspiration "to play the role of an important political force in Poland, to try to have a major influence on the drafting of state policy."

-- the respect due to the "Polish pope." In this connection, the vulgar and primitive attack launched for the first time in the purest Stalinist style against the holy father by the weekly POLITYKA merely resulted in the official press losing a little more credibility.

In these conditions, the government is preparing for battle, and all indications are that we are on the eve of a large-scale conflict between church and state.

What the authorities wish to combat is the church's whole presence in social and public life. It is therefore difficult to predict success in the current negotiations to set up a foundation to help private agriculture backed by the church.

KRAKOW ISSUES STATEMENT ON ATTACKED PRIEST

LD111913 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] In connection with sensationalist reports by Western broadcasters regarding an attack on a Krakow priest, the press spokesman of the Voivodship Internal Affairs Office in Krakow has stated the following:

At 2250 on 6 April, the duty officer at the Krakow center district Internal Affairs Office was informed of an attack on Father Tadeusz Zaleski in the basement of the building at 5 Bitwy pod Lenino Street. Father Zaleski told the civic militia officers who arrived on the scene that he was attacked and overpowered by several unknown individuals on the staircase and then dragged into the cellar, where he passed out.

Later, Father Zaleski changed his initial version and testified that he was descending into the cellar with a lighted candle when he was attacked by an unknown person.

As a result of a medical examination conducted by medical experts from the Krakow Medical Academy, uniform superficial burns were found on the priest's body. The main burns were found on the right forearm and could have been caused by a candle flame. The rest were most probably caused by the burning sleeve of his coat pressing against his body.

Father Tadeusz Zaleski has been undergoing medical treatment for some time because of clear symptoms of epilepsy with periodic losses of consciousness. He stayed at the neurological clinic of the Medical Academy between 11-19 December 1984, where epilepsy -- epilepsia [indistinct Latin world] -- was conclusively diagnosed. In view of his illness, Father Tadeusz Zaleski was granted leave by church authorities in October 1984, to stay with his mother in Krakow.

In connection with Father Zaleski's state of health, a medical team of neurologists, neurosurgeons, and psychiatrists was set up to examine the victim and present its findings. Intensive investigations aimed at fully clarifying the circumstances of the incident are in progress under the supervision of the prosecutor's office.

## UK'S MINISTER HOWE ARRIVES FOR OFFICIAL VISIT

### Met by Olszowski

LD111521 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] At the invitation of Stefan Olszowski, the minister of foreign affairs, Sir Geoffrey Howe, secretary of state for foreign affairs of the United Kingdom, arrived in Poland today on an official visit. It is anticipated that the talks between the British guest and Polish officials will deal with subjects pertaining to security in the broad sense and with cooperation, especially in Europe. In the afternoon, Polish-British plenary talks began in the Foreign Ministry building. They were preceded by a personal meeting between the heads of diplomacy of the two states.

### Commentary Examines Visit

LD111132 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Jan Gadomski commentary]

[Text] In recent weeks, Europe has become the scene of lively political activity. New Soviet initiatives formulated by Mikhail Gorbachev aim at slowing down the arms race and improving the political climate. The U.S. allies, recently through Lord Carrington, the NATO secretary general, are pushing the states of the alliance to cooperate in the militarization of space, initiated by the United States. At the same time, the growing protests of West European societies are directed against becoming shackled to the war chariot of the Americans. On the other hand, Europe's capitalist concerns yearn for the star wars program, tempted by promises of access to the latest U.S. technology. In such a contradictory situation, some West European governments seem to consider their decision more carefully, to more profoundly analyze the possible consequences, be more reluctant to make new decisions, and to be more critical of the old ones, which have been devalued by life. European states, which are not the superpowers, are clearly beginning to feel responsible for their own future and the fate of our continent.

We see today's visit to Warsaw by British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe against this background. The visit has its European dimension, in accordance with the recent British initiatives directed toward the East. It has a bilateral dimension too; relations between Poland and Great Britain have not been at their best recently, through no fault of our own, as is commonly known. The improvement of these relations and the British departure from decisions which today are in contradiction with reality.

This is because any action to improve relations on our continent cannot bypass Poland, and every improvement of relations between NATO states and our state has a favorable influence on the European climate, which is important to the success of the superpower negotiations in Geneva. The interests of West Europe and Europe as a whole lie not in economic sanctions or in the militarization of space, but in mutually beneficial cooperation.

SOKOLOV ADDRESSES ARMY DIVISION ON FRATERNITY

LD112009 Moscow TASS in English 1906 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Warsaw April 11 TASS -- Member of the CPSU Central Committee, Defence Minister of the USSR, Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Sokolov, who is on an official friendly visit here, today visited the Jan Krasicki Air Command School.

On the same day the USSR defence minister visited the first Prague mechanised regiment of the Tadeusz Kosciuszko Division which was formed in the USSR and fought its way to Berlin.

A meeting of friendship was held at the garrison club. Speaking at the meeting, Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Sokolov conveyed to the servicemen of the Polish Army fraternal greetings and wishes of new successes in their activities from servicemen of the USSR Armed forces. The Soviet-Polish fraternity in arms which was born in battlefields of the Second World War, became the firm foundation of friendship and cooperation of the two countries and peoples.

We need peace to be able to further put into life plans of creation. The Soviet Union, Poland, other fraternal countries are doing their utmost to deliver mankind from a nuclear threat, to curb the arms race. The Warsaw Treaty organization, the 30th anniversary of which we are to mark soon, Sergey Sokolov stressed, is the reliable shield of the gains of socialism and security of the countries of the socialist community.

Candidate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, Defence Minister of the Polish People's Republic, Army General Florian Siwicki, made a speech at the meeting. History has shown, he said, that Poland's reliance on alliance with the USSR was the only correct choice. It was exactly the Soviet Army in which Polish servicemen fought that brought freedom to our country, played the decisive role in the rout of fascist Germany. [sentence as received]

The countries of the socialist community are doing the utmost to ensure military-strategic equilibrium in the world on the lowest possible level, the speaker said. He noted the topicality of the new Soviet proposals that were made in Mikhail Gorbachev's talks with an editor of the newspaper PRAVDA. These are concrete and honest proposals the adoption of which would promote consolidation of peace.

The meeting resolved into striking demonstration of Soviet-Polish fraternity in arms, close friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the USSR and the Polish People's Republic.

## POPIELUSZKO KILLERS' APPEAL SET FOR 19 APR

LD111634 Hamburg DPA in German 1546 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 11 Apr (DPA) -- Appeal proceedings are to begin before the Polish Supreme Court in Warsaw on 19 April in the case against the four security officers sentenced on 7 February in Torun to long terms of imprisonment for the murder of the opposition priest, Jerzy Popieluszko. This was made known on Thursday by people involved in the case. All four sentenced men had appealed the sentence, while the State Prosecutor's Office abstained from appealing.

The appeal proceedings, set for 19 and 22 April -- in the opinion of Polish legal experts, surprisingly quickly -- are to take place without the participation of the sentenced men. They will be represented by their attorneys. The plantiffs, who represent the family of the murdered man, are also to take part in the proceedings.

## JABLONSKI SENDS CONDOLENCES TO ALBANIA'S ALIA

LD112246 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] In connection with the death of Enver Hoxha, the PZPR Central Committee has sent a telegram of condolences to the AWP Central Committee. Henryk Jablonski has also sent a telegram with his expressions of sympathy to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of Albania.

SCINTEIA REPORTS GORBACHEV PRAVDA INTERVIEW

AU111314 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Apr 85 p 4

["The USSR Has Decided To Institute a Moratorium With Respect to the Deployment of Soviet Intermediate-Range Missiles in Europe -- Interview Given by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev to PRAVDA"]

[Text] Moscow, 8 April (AGERPRES) -- In an interview given to PRAVDA, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, discussed aspects linked to problems of disarmament and peace, as well as Soviet-American relations. After noting the existence of the world social systems, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that one should take account of the importance of peaceful coexistence within the framework of which each of the systems shall prove, by force of example and not by force of arms, which of them is better; take account of the need to halt the arms race; and take account of international cooperation in establishing a dialogue aimed at seeking realistic solutions that will reduce tension in the world and contribute to stopping the arms race. All states, both large and small, must participate in this process, he stressed, and the nuclear powers, primarily the Soviet Union and the United States, have to play a particular role in this respect.

Referring to Soviet-American relations, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary stressed that relations between the two countries are an extremely important factor in international politics, "but we do not look at the world solely through the prism of these relations. We realize the importance of other countries in international affairs and take this into account in assessing the general situation in the world."

The Soviet leader said that the future development of Soviet-American relations and developments in the world in general may depend on the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva on nuclear and space weapons. Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the alternatives are: "Either an arms race in all areas and the increase in the threat of war, or the consolidation of general security and a more stable peace for all. And," he said, "just as the emergence of nuclear weapons did not eliminate conventional types, but only gave rise to an accelerated nuclear and conventional arms race, so the development of space weapons will have just one result -- the arms race will become even more intensive and encompass new spheres."

After stressing that in Soviet-American relations, confrontation is not inevitable, but that rather it is an anomaly, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said, "We regard the improvement of Soviet-American relations as not only extremely necessary, but possible." In this context, he stressed that both sides should have a positive attitude toward holding a Soviet-American summit meeting and that the time and venue for this meeting will be agreed upon in the future.

"We propose to the U.S. Government that matters be conducted in such a way that everyone -- our peoples and other countries -- can see that the political course of the USSR and the United States is oriented not toward enmity and confrontation, but toward the search for mutual understanding and toward peaceful development. Therefore," he said, "we propose that the USSR and the United States institute for the entire duration of the talks a moratorium on the development, including scientific research work, testing, and deployment of space weapons and freeze their strategic offensive weapons.

"Simultaneously, there must be a halt to the deployment of U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Europe and, correspondingly, to the buildup of our countermeasures."

In conclusion, Mikhail Gorbachev stated, "We are in favor of honest dialogue. We are again prepared to demonstrate our goodwill, and from this date I wish to stress that the Soviet Union is instituting a moratorium on the deployment of its intermediate-range missiles and is suspending the implementation of other countermeasures in Europe. The moratorium will be in effect until November this year. The decisions we take thereafter depends on whether the United States follows our example, whether or not it stops the deployment of its intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

"Summing up, I would say the following: Opportunities do exist for improving Soviet-American relations and improving the general international situation. These opportunities must not be missed. They must be translated into specific policies and practical decisions."

GIOSAN RECEIVES PRC PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION

AU111849 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1816 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 11/4/1985 -- On April 11 Nicolae Giosan, chairman of Romania's Grand National Assembly, had an interview with a delegation of the Chinese National People's Congress headed by Geng Biao, member of the Standing Committee of the Central Consultative Commission of the Chinese Communist Party, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee, chairman of the Commission for the Foreign Relations of the National People's Congress of China, now on a friendly visit to Romania.

During the talks the sides evoked the traditional Romanian-Chinese relations of friendship, solidarity and collaboration, pointing out their continuous development and diversification in the spirit of the understandings reached at summit level. The sides informed mutually of the parliamentary activity, the achievements and preoccupations with implementing socialism in the two countries. The sides pointed out that the visit paid by the Chinese parliamentary delegation was a telling expression of the joint wish to enhance the two parliaments contribution to strengthening the relations between the two countries, to the benefit of both peoples, of socialism and peace throughout the world.

CSSR DEPUTY PREMIER ARRIVES IN BUCHAREST FOR TALKS

LD120547 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Romania -- Svatopluk Potac, deputy Czechoslovak premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, arrived in Bucharest today on a working visit. He will have talks with Stefan Birlea, chairman of the State Planning Committee of Romania, about the results to date and the further progress of working in coordinating the national economic plans of the two countries until 1990 and about further questions of mutual economic cooperation.

RCP CC DOCUMENT ON PARTY CADRES POLICY ADOPTED

AU101929 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Apr 85 p 2

["Documents Adopted by the RCP Central Committee Plenum of 26-27 March 1985 on the Activity Carried Out by Party-State Bodies and Mass Organizations in 1984 To Implement the Party Cadre Policy -- Summary"]

[Text] The year 1984 was stongly marked by events of particular importance in the life of the party and of the whole nation: The 13th RCP Congress, which through the established bold objectives envisages the fatherland's bright future, is an important event in Romania's socioeconomic development and its multifaceted prosperity. The report presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and decisions adopted by the Communists' forum is a broad program of activity and mobilization of all creative energies of our party and people with a view to building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania and the country's progress toward communism.

The reelection by the 13th RCP Congress to the highest position as party secretary general of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the most beloved son of the Romanian people, ardent patriot and consistent revolutionary, representative of the entire nation's interests and aspirations, and prominent personality of our times, is a political act of fundamental significance for the Romanian party and people representing the unanimous recognition of his qualities as party-state leader and boundless confidence in his creative capability, the surest guarantee that the historical decisions adopted by the 13th RCP Congress will be unflinchingly implemented and that our fatherland will proceed on its ascending path toward the highest levels of socialism and communism.

At the same time, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's reinvestiture by the third congress of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF] to the position as chairman of this broad representative forum of our socialist and revolutionary workers democracy is telling proof of the whole nation's trust in the person who, for the past two decades, has brilliantly led the destinies of our party and state.

The 40th anniversary of the victory of antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation was another opportunity for the manifestation of the whole nation's unity with the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and it was a time of review of the great achievements registered in the past 4 decades, particularly in the period elapsed since the Ninth RCP Congress, which entered the awareness of the whole nation as the most fruitful period in the history of our country, and which the Romanian people call with great patriotic pride the "Ceausescu Era".

In 1984, the best results of the current 5-year plan period were attained in implementing the objectives established by the 12th RCP Congress and the party national conference for the many-sided progress of our fatherland. An important contribution to achieving successes was made by the detachments of cadres who carry out functions of responsibility in all fields of activity. Unswervingly following the brilliant example of party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceasusescu, who is devoting his entire life and activity to the well-being and happiness of the people, the cadres of the party and state, of mass and civic organizations, and of economic branches have acted with great responsibility to implement the party-state domestic and foreign policy and to achieve the socioeconomic development of our fatherland.

Starting from the qualitative requirements included in the report presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the 13th RCP Congress, and on the basis of the guidelines and tasks established by the party secretary general on other occasions too, the party-state bodies and organizations, Communists, and members of mass and civic organizations have increased their concern for continuously perfecting the cadres' activity and for observing with increased exactingness the criteria and norms concerning knowledge, selection, training, and promotion of cadres in all fields of activity. Thus, intensive activity was carried out at all levels in 1984 to become acquainted with, select, and promote a great number of cadres necessary for elections to local and central party bodies, the SDUF, and as candidate deputies in the Grand National Assembly and in the county, municipality, town, and communal people's councils.

The party elections occasioned the evaluation of the quality of the whole party aktiv through the concrete results registered in fulfilling the decisions and tasks set forth, as well as the recommendations and guidelines given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu; thus, in the party bodies the most valuable cadres were elected, those who have proven their good political and professional training, competence, spirit of self denial and devotion, as well as authority in the working collectives and their capability of organizing and mobilizing all professional and civic activity.

In light of the goals put forward by the party leadership, party bodies and organizations have taken firm action to ensure an appropriate social composition of cadres that will more clearly reflect the role and position of the workers class in managing our socialist society by primarily promoting to leadership positions the best cadres from among the ranks of workers, foremen, and technicians. It is significant that of those elected to the party bodies during the accountability and electoral meetings and conferences that took place before the 13th RCP Congress, 47.5 percent were workers, foremen, and technicians and 17.7 percent were peasants.

To ensure a constant increase in the role and contribution of women in the implementation of party policy and in the development of overall socioeconomic activity in the spirit of the program adopted by the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee in 1983 and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's recommendations and guidelines, the county party committees, the ministry managements, and mass and civic organizations increased their endeavors to locate, select, train, and promote a greater number of women for leadership positions. Thus, the proportion of women elected to party bodies last year was 38.3 percent, compared with 32 percent in 1979. At the same time, during the same period, their proportion in overall party activities increased from 16.5 percent to 25.7 percent.

An appropriate composition in keeping with the structure of the nationalities of our population was ensured in party and state bodies and in mass and civic organizations.

Positive results were also registered in ensuring an appropriate ratio between the number of older cadres with long working experience and young ones with thorough political and professional training.

More responsible action was taken to ensure the cadres' multifaceted training and instruction in a revolutionary-patriotic spirit and the training of all Communists, and to ensure a thorough knowledge of party documents and of the ideas and recommendations of particular theoretical and practical significance included in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's work.

At this point, 92.6 percent of the members of the country party committee bureaus and almost 53 percent of party activists have graduated from or are attending higher party and state education, and a considerable number of cadres from all areas have attended or are attending short-term party schools, the political and leadership university, and other forms of perfecting their political-ideological and professional training.

In keeping with the country's socioeconomic development plan, in 1984 the national economy received 269,000 skilled workers who had attended professional and technical education and specialized secondary schools, as well as training courses at their workplaces. Higher education was also provided to train 37,000 engineers, economists, and educational, medical, and other specialized cadres. The average number of working personnel amounts to 7,585,000 at this point.

The plenum assessed that intensive work was carried out last year to select, train, and promote cadres, thus ensuring almost the total requirement for management and executive cadres in all areas.

Although activity to implement the party cadres policy in 1984 has been concluded with positive results on the whole, the plenum assessed that certain shortcomings have been obvious that have had a negative influence on the results of economic activity in such areas as energy, mining, oil, and agriculture in particular.

Some party bodies and ministry leaderships have not concerned themselves enough with a thorough, all-round knowledge of cadres, especially in their everyday activity, and with implementing the party decisions and the country's laws.

In certain situations, the selection and promotion of cadres was done on the basis of limited knowledge, with the outcome that some people were appointed to leadership positions who did not have the required qualities -- the quality of revolutionaries. Some of them, instead of acting with great responsibility and exactingness, instead of taking the initiative in fulfilling their tasks, or being among the first to promote what is new, and instead of struggling relentlessly against routine, sloth, and everything that hampers our progress, underrated the potential and possibilities of collectives and resorted to excuses, self-criticism, and formal pledges.

Shortcomings were also obvious in the selection of cadres proposed for various nomenklatura positions in the sense that insufficient attention was paid to the fact that three candidates for one position -- as the RCP Central Committee decision envisages -- should completely fulfill the political, moral, and professional criteria.

Control work carried out by the Central Committee sections revealed that certain shortcomings in implementing the cadres policy are also due to aspects of formalism that still exist in setting up and making use of cadre reserves; in cerain party bodies, ministries, and central institutions cadre reserves do not ensure the promotion -- in all areas of activity -- of a greater number of cadres from among the workers class, youth, and women, and having appropriate political and professional training.

These shortcomings meant that the number of cadres coming from among the ranks of workers in the party apparatus and in other areas were not everywhere up to the requirements of the guidelines and tasks set for th by the party leadership; as for promoting women, there are still areas and positions in which their proportion is below the goals set by the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and below existing possibilities.

The plenum assessed that the shortcomings that still persist in the field of implementing the cadres policy are also determined by the fact that local party bodies, ministries, and commissions for problems of party and state cadres have not always taken consistent action to resolutely implement decisions and tasks aimed at perfecting the activity of selecting, training, educating, and promoting cadres.

To eradicate shortcomings that still exist in cadres activity and in better implementing tasks in this area, the following steps will be taken:

1 -- The party, mass, civic, and state bodies and organizations must ensure -- through their overall political-ideological and cultural-artistic activity -- the thorough knowledge and application by all working people of the historic decisions adopted by the 13th RCP Congress, of the ideas, theses, and guidelines included in the works of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general, and they must ensure the development of the revolutionary spirit of leadership cadres and all Communists, and increased exactingness and determination in selecting, training, and promoting cadres with a high sense of duty and devotion to the cause of the party, homeland, and socialism.

2 -- The county party committees, the leaderships of ministries, mass, and civic organizations shall reexamine and improve uniform future plans for selecting and training cadres in keeping with requirements derived from the 13th RCP Congress directives.

The leadership of ministries and of other central institutions shall take more determined action so that the promotion of leadership cadres in the state apparatus and in the economy is organized on the basis of contests and in keeping with legal norms. At the same time, measures will be worked out for reassigning -- in keeping with requirements in certain areas — some leadership and executive cadres to new units or to units with a deficit of cadres.

3 -- County party bodies and ministry leaderships must constantly and exactingly control the activity and conduct of cadres in responsible positions, the way in which they fulfill their tasks and concern themselves with improving their work style, political, ideological, and professional training, and must determinedly combat complacency, routine, and lack of responsibility by taking firm action to strengthen order and discipline in all areas.

4 -- Party bodies, leaderships of ministries, mass, and civic organizations shall intensify their concern with completely implementing the provisions of the program of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee with respect to promoting women to responsible positions.

5 -- Measures shall be taken to appoint appropriate cadres for all vacant positions and for those positions held by mandate [cu delegatie] in the nomenclatura of party bodies, ministries, and other central institutions.

6 — By the end of May 1985, the cadre reserves and their training programs should be revised and completed. The inclusion in the cadre reserves of women and young people with real possibilities of being promoted must be stepped up and determined action must be taken against formalism that still exists in this area.

7 -- In the spirit of the guidelines set by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the Ministry of Education and Instruction and the Ministry of Labor, in cooperation with the economic ministries, shall examine the annual schooling and training plans for the labor force in keeping with special programs adopted by taking account of the requirements of each county's socioeconomic development.

The Ministry of Education and Instruction, together with the Ministry of Labor and the consumer ministries, shall improve the current system of distributing, using and keeping records of graduates from secondary schools, and shall closely follow their appointment to positions in the production process and their stability in the units in which they work.

Party bodies and organizations and working people's councils shall reguarly examine how the recycling of the labor force is organized and is taking place and work out measures to improve the level and efficiency of professional training of all working personnel.

8 -- The cadres section and other RCP Central Committee sections shall carry out exacting control over how party bodies, mass organizations, ministries, and the other central institutions act to apply the part decisions and the country's laws in the cadres policy, thus ensuring strong cadre reserves in all areas.

'ARAFAT SENDS MESSAGE TO CEAUSESCU ON REELECTION

AU062031 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Apr 85 p 5

[Message from Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, to Nicolae Ceausescu on his reelection as president of Romania]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

Esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, I have learned with particular pleasure of the Romanian people's reassertion of their trust in your wise leadership and of your reelection to the high office of head of state.

On this important occasion, I want to convey to you personally, to the friendly Romanian people, the RCP, and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on behalf of myself, the PLO Executive Committee members, and the Palestinian people, the expression of our feelings of fraternity, friendship, and gratitude for the principles and consistent position of supporting our just and legitimate struggle for returning to our homes, for achieving the Palestinian people's self-determination, and for creating an independent state on their national territory.

Dear comrades, our national liberation struggle is of particular historic value at this decisive point. The Palestinian people in the occupied territories, in South Lebanon, and in refugee camps are prey to repeated Zionist terrorist attacks aimed at weakening their spirit of struggle and resistance and at eradicating their national cause. This requires that the peace-loving forces and the advocates of justice throughout the world strengthen their militant solidarity.

For us, the position held by friendly Romania is the best proof of the spirit of fraternity and solidarity with the struggle waged by our Palestinian people and by the Arab nation. We are fully convinced that you will not lessen your efforts of supporting the just cause of our people.

I want to take this opportunity to express our great gratitude to you, esteemed Comrade President Nicolae Ceausescu to the SR of Romania, and the RCP, and to also wish you good health and personal happiness, as well as well-being, progress, and prosperity to the Romanian people.

Revolution until victory! Yasir 'Arafat, PLO Executive Committee chairman and general commander of the Palestinian Forces of the Revolution

## INFLATION TOPS FEC AGENDA AT 11 APRIL SESSION

LD112346 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1546 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 11 Apr (TANJUG) — At its session today (chaired by Mijat Sukovic), the Federal Executive Council [FEC] approved the program of its work in 1985 and the work plan for the second quarter of the year.

Inflation is one of the main issues to which the FEC will pay constant attention and take measures and activities. What is at stake is the consistent implementation of the measures laid down by the 1985 resolution and by the law on social control of prices in order that prerequisites be created for a fundamental change in the decisionmaking process on prices and curbing inflation. Among the fundamental tasks laid down by the FEC work program is also the task of initiating activities and measures aimed at improving the conditions for the operation of production and exports.

The FEC approved the proposed law on the foundations of the public information system. The public information sphere is regulated by republican and provincial legislation. Practice has however shown that it is necessary to regulate basic issues in this sphere in a uniform manner in the federal law. The proposed law, by proceeding from the constitutionally established rights of the working people, citizens, and other subjects to express and make known their views, and to be informed on time, truthfully, completely, and objectively of the events at home and abroad, defines the term of public information, thus eliminating possible ambiguities over whether public information is only that which is published by public information media, or if it is information made accessible to the public in some other way as well. It has been established that the principle of the public nature of work is in direct connection with the principle of openness of sources of public information, and that this represents the basic reason for the further democratization of the public information system.

The proposed law on the foundations of the public information system establishes that the public media is responsible to the founder for implementing the program concept and editorial policy. This enhances the legal basis for the founders of public media to implement their social function more successfully. The proposed law defines that the founder, together with the council and the editorial board of the public medium, establishes the program concept of public media and monitors its implementation. The obligation of the founder to ensure the material, cadre, organizational, and other conditions for the successful implementation of a public medium's function has also been laid down more comprehensively and precisely.

The FEC discussed the trend in drug prices and the content of the self-managing agreement on the lasting regulation of drug prices, recently signed by a number of drug producers and consumers, and noted that great disruptions in the trend of drug prices have arisen on the drug market. The council also noted that the self-managing agreement on the regulation of drug prices is not in line with the law on the social price control. In keeping with this, the FEC established that conditions envisaged by the law to take measures of direct drug price control have arisen. Thus, in accordance with this decision, the measure of direct drug price control and approval of drug prices is being introduced. Organizations of associated labor which produce drugs are to reduce the price of drugs which have been increased after 31 December 1984 to the level at which they were on that day.

The council also approved the draft decision on the valorization of the amount of funds for the financing of the construction of the Yugoslav section of the Belgrade-Scutari railway line in 1984.

The funds are valorized for 1983 and 1984 in the amount of 4.3 billion dinars.

The FEC also accepted the report on the problems of financing social and other services in the Province of Kosovo and decided that to improve the position of social and other services in the Province of Kosovo, through a rebalance of the federal budget for this year, additional resources amounting to 4.1 billion dinars be provided.

TESTIMONY CONTINUES AT VARAZDIN 'TERRORIST' TRIAL

LD112346 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1431 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Varazdin, 11 Apr (TANJUG) -- On the 4th day of the trial of a group of terrorists, which is being held before the Grand Council of the Varazdin District Court, the three defendants were interrogated. Their interrogation followed the closing statement by Stjepan Deglin (40), the group's ideological leader and founder.

The second defendant, Gabrijel Bunta (42), a bricklayer temporarily employed in the FRG, admitted that he was with Deglin when the latter planted explosive devices in public places in Novigrad na Moru and Sibenik on 7-8 August 1982. The devices, however, failed to explode.

On this occasion Deglin said to him: "This is my task and I must carry it out, but if you give away anything you will fare the same way as I do."

Danijel Matijasec (22), an unemployed worker, also admitted that he was a member of this terorist group. However, he disagreed with the first defendant who claimed that it was not the latter who had decided that the slogan "Death to Yugoslavia -- long live free Croatia" and the letter "U" should not be written on the Fallen Fighters' Monument in their own village of Visoko in the Novi Marof municipality but somewhere else. They also had different view on the activity of the "Stjepan Djurekovic" terrorist cell.

Stjepa Rep (23), a worker from Zagreb, stated that he had taken part in distributing propaganda material such as Ustasha newspapers, leaflets, and other propaganda directed against our country, and that he was also present at the cemetery in the village of Visoko where, on 8 April 1983, Matijasec wrote a slogan on the Fallen Fighters' Monument. This was done to commemorate 10 April, the founding day of the so-called "Independent State of Croatia."

Just like the others he also listened to and spread Stjepan Deglin's thoughts about the need for Croatia to become economically independent and for its subsequent secession from Yugoslavia. With these objectives in mind, the group, which operated within the framework of the "Croatian Militant Society," a terrorist section of the "Croatian National Council," was given clearly defined tasks of planting explosives, creating its own network in our country, and engaging in propaganda activity.

The trial continues tomorrow with the interrogation of the other seven members of the group.

## 11 INDICTED IN ZABREB, LINKED TO VARAZDIN GROUP

LD111809 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1337 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Zagreb, 11 Apr (TANJUG) -- The trial of 11 persons accused of enemy activity against the SFRY through propaganda and preparations for terrorist actions in collusion with Ustasha terrorist organizations abroad began before the Grand Council of the Zagreb District Court today.

The indictment accuses the following of enemy activity: Filip Bagic (36), a graduated jurist from Zelina; Zdravko Kasalo (26), a self-employed artisan from Sesvete; Luka Kaldzic (37), a self-employed artisan from Zagreb; Tomislav Kasalo (24), and electrician from Sesvete; Petar Hrga (28), a car body mechanic from Sesvete; Tomo Buci (30), an electrotechnical engineer from Glavnica Donja near Sesvete; Mate Orlovic (20), a forestry engineer from Zagreb; Nedeljko Serdarusic (20), an administrative official from Zagreb; Zeljko Pelivan (27), an electrical mechanic from Sesvete; Ivan Beljan (26), a biological engineer from Trogir; and, Gvido Piasevoli (26), a student from Split.

The indictment charges fall most heavily on the first defendant, Filip Bagic, who, as was revealed during the investigations, established direct contact with Ustasha emigre organizations and received from them enemy propaganda material, as well as weapons, ammunition, and explosive devices to carry out terrorist actions in our country from nationalistic positions. He also inspired and set up groups to carry out criminal acts of terrorism.

According to the indictment Filip Bagic received last year from Stjepan Deglin (who is on trial in Varazdin for terrorist activity), among other things, about 17 spray cans filled with explosives together with detonators and timing mechanisms to time the explosion. He also purchased a considerable quantity of weapons and ammunition as well as Ustasha emigre papers and a lot of enemy propaganda materials -- leaflets papers, and books.

Zdravko Kasalo, Tomo Buci, Mato Orlovic, and Zeljko Pelivan, together with Filip Bagic, accepted the methods and forms of actions by Ustasha terrorist organizations and they consented to form, together with him, a shock terrorist group.

The indictment of the Zagreb District Public Prosecutor's Office maintains that Filip Bagic organized groups for terrorist activity based on groups of two and three. The other defendants, apart from those who joined him in his criminal activity, helped and hid them as well as weapons, explosive devices, and propaganda material.

Court experts established that explosive devices of destructive force were found in their possession which could cause great material damage as well as hurt a large number of people.

At the main hearing today, Filip Bagic, with his two defense lawyers, defended himself by denying the charges of the indictment.

He stated that he had never been charged expect for an offense about some "religious songs." In defending himself he assetred that he had not contacted the officials of terrorist organizations. About one of them, Ivica Sumaher, he knew only that he was a painter whose pictures he saw exhibited at the large hall of the Croatian Catholic Mission in Stuttgart but, he says, he did not get to know him personally.

He knew Ivo Tubanovic (who was recently sentenced in Osijek to 14 years imprisonment for terrorist activity) only "superficially" yet he lived right next door to him in the FRG.

He acquired books of enemy content, in particular Stjepan Djurekovic's books, in front of the church in Stuttgart because they were sold there at stands and kiosks but, he said, he did not read these books. He insisted that he gave them only to Ivan Beljan and Tomislav Buci and only because he "had no other books." He said that he bagan to read "emigre publbcations" only out of curiosity but he still did not explain whether he also brought them into the country and distributed them out of curiosity.

The trial of the accused for terrorist activity will continue tomorrow and is expected to last about 1 month.

DIZDAREVIC, GDR'S KROLIKOWSKI ASSESS COOPERATION

LD112052 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1514 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Belgrade, April 11 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Secretary for Foreign Affaris Raif Dizdarevic and First Deputy Foreign Minister of the GDR Dr. Herbert Krolikowski favourably assessed in Belgrade today the development to date of bilateral cooperation and considered possibilities of its further promotion.

Krolikowski is on a two-day visit to Yugoslavia for talks with Yugoslav Deputy Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar within the framework of regular political consultations in the portfolio of foreign affairs.

DEBT, TRADE BARRIERS DISCUSSED WITH AUSTRIA

LD112139 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1522 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Belgrade, April 11 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Finance Vlado Klemencic and Austrian Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Trade, Commerce and Industry Norbert Steger have upheld a further promotion of bilateral economic cooperation, particularly in industry, energy, tourism, transportation, financing, and joint appearances on third markets.

Klemencic pointed out that Austria had so far supported Yugoslavia's program of economic stabilization and refinancing of foreign debts, and expressed the convictions that it would continue to do so in future talks on a longer-term regulation of Yugoslavia's external financial obligations.

Steger said that Austria was ready, as it had been so far, to participate in multilateral actions for a medium-term refinancing of Yugoslavia's debts. He said Austrian businessmen assessed as positive the recently introduced facilities for joint investments in the Yugoslav economy.

Austria's restrictive trade and customs regulations impede the expansion of bilateral trade. This especially holds true of demands for a "self-limitation" of Yugoslav exports, which have already led to a stagnation in Yugoslav textiles and cement exports to Austria.

Yugoslavia will seek customs preferences for some 30 products, which is understandable in view of the fact that the Yugoslav trade deficit with Austria stood at nearly 122 million dollars last year. The deficit was Yugoslavia's third highest with trading partners.

BORBA CRITICAL OF CARDINAL KUHARIC 'CAMPAIGN'

LD111742 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1308 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Belgrade, April 11 (TANJUG) -- Number one man of the Roman Catholic Church in Yugoslavia, Cardinal Franjo Kuharic, has again found it necessary to include the pope in his campaign against Yugoslav society, writes the Yugoslav daily BORBA.

In the Vatican recently, the paper says, Cardinal Kuharic asked Pope John Paul II to "reinforce the young brothers and sisters in their faith because the conditions in which they live and grow are not conducive to faith. They are exposed to so many temptations against their faith" -- he complained. Cardinal Kuharic spoke during an audience at the Vatican, where he headed a group of about 4500 young believers of Croatian nationality to an international meeting of the pope and the youth.

It is no news that Kuharic does not think good of Yugoslav socialism, recalls BORBA. Citizens enjoy the freedom of the profession of religion and about 40 religious communities are developing unhindered activity in Yugoslavia, the paper points out. It says that similarly to the cardinal's earlier pronouncements, this latest one made at the Vatican indicates that Yugoslav society was not cut "according to the measure" of some of the highest church dignitaries because, according to them, "all evil comes from the idea of communism."

BORBA points to a contradiction between the view of the church that "communism is a source of evil," and its demand that all offices in socialist society should be made accessible to believers.

Some church dignitaries regularly ignore the Yugoslav practice in which the position of an individual does not depend on his faith or atheism, but on his contribution to the development of the country.

The efforts of Cardinal Kuharic, apparently aimed at changing the system in Yugoslavia, may be illustrated among other things by the masses he regularly says each February for the late Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac, who was convicted, after the liberation, of the war crimes committed on the side of fascists during the Second World War. In his sermons Cardinal Kuharic regularly calls Stepinac "martyr" and sharply attacks "those who dared to hurt the blessed memory of the late Stepinac."

Consequently, Cardinal Kuharic wants rehabilitation of the war criminal Stepinac, writes BORBA. His speech before the pope was imbued with the same spirit of confrontation with Yugoslav society, which cannot possibly have anything to do with the faith or the believers.

Such attitudes of Roman Catholic dignitaries in Yugoslavia inevitably narrow down all possibilities of a constructive dialogue, concludes the paper.

DJURANOVIC CABLES CONDOLENCES TO ALBANIA'S ALIA

LD111812 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1701 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Apr (TANJUG) — Veselin Djuranovic, SFRY Presidency president, has sent the following telegram of condolences to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania:

"I convey to you and to the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania condolences on the death of Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party."

TANJUG Assesses Relations

LD112039 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1918 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Apr (TANJUG) -- Enver Hoxha, leader of the Albanian Workers' Party since its foundation in 1941, is dead. He was leader of his country for the entire postwar period and he played a decisive and inviolable role in its internal and foreign policy.

During that period, Yugoslav-Albanian relations passed through two stages. History has recorded close cooperation between the two countries in the liberation war and in the early postwar years right up until the 1948 Cominform resolution. Enver Hoxha himself assessed these relations during his visit to Belgrade in 1946 as "relations of brotherhood and friendship forged by our common heroes."

Proceeding from the conviction that good bilateral and neighborly relations between Yugoslavia and Albania are of major significance and interest for the peoples of the two countries, as well as for peace and cooperation in the Balkans, Yugoslavia has always attached and still attaches great significance to their development.

As is well known, Yugoslavia has always endorsed and still endorses Albania's independence, believing that Albania's position represents a significant element of stability in the entire region where we live together.

In its relations with Albania, as well as in its relations with all its neighbors and other countries, Yugoslavia has been guided and is guided by the well-known principles of its foreign policy: good-neighborliness, noninterference in any form in internal affairs, mutual consideration, and respect for differences. This has always been stressed and confirmed in practice. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will consistently adhere to such a policy in the future.

The policy of good-neighborliness, based on mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality, and noninterference, can only be in the interest of the peoples of both countries, and of stability and peace in the Balkans and the world.

DJURANOVIC MESSAGE TO CEAUSESCU ON REELECTION

AU061928 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Apr 85 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, esteemed Comrade Ceausescu:

On behalf of the SFRY Presidium and on my own behalf, permit me to congratulate you with particular satisfaction for your reelection to the position as president of the SR of Romania. We wish you much health, personal happiness, and new successes in your activity devoted to the well-being of your country and the prosperity of the Romanian people.

I remember the frank and useful discussions we held together during my recent visit to the SR of Romania and I express — on this occasion, too, — my complete trust in the continuous multifaceted development of friendly relations and fruitful cooperation between Yugoslavia and Romania, in the spirit of the good-neighborliness that traditionally characterizes these relations.

Veselin Djuranovic, SFRY Presidency president

KOSOVO SAWP CONFERENCE MEETS, HEARS HODZA

LD111835 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1248 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 11 Apr (TANJUG) — Two historical gatherings, the first regional conference on the United National Liberation Front (JNOF) and the Antifascist Front of Women (AFZ) for Kosovo and Metohia, were held in Pristina exactly 40 years ago. The two anniversaries were marked during the formal part of today's session of the SAWP Provincial Conference and the Conference for Social Activity of Women of Kosovo. Apart from high-ranking officials of the province and numerous JNOF aktivists, the celebration was also attended by the delegations of the SAWPY Federal Conference; the Serbian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, and Bosnian-Hercegovinian SAWP Republican Conferences; and the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference. Abdulah Hodza, president of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference, spoke about the importance and development of the JNOF and AFZ for Kosovo and Metohia and the contribution made by the Socialist Alliance, which succeeded them to the rehabilitation and building of the country, and particularly of Kosovo.

As was true elsewhere in Yugoslavia, in this part of the country liberation was followed by rehabilitation and building. Numerous work drives were organized within the framework of the National Front. Workers, peasants, women, and young people all took part in them. The results of these actions and of the work devoted to the development of the country and especially of Kosovo can be seen at every step. Kosovo experience a great change in every respect -- political, economic, cultural, health, educational, and scientific. This is the best answer to the counterrevolutionary propaganda about the alleged exploitation of Kosovo.

Abdulah Hodza illustrated this growth with numerous examples.

All the successes achieved are inseparable from the realization of the LCY's policy on the more rapid development of Kosovo. These successes, which are being achieved in the course of the socialist self-managing development of Yugoslav society, are resented by our enemies, including the counterrevolutionary forces acting from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. The counterrevolutionary attempt in Kosovo has taught the enemies of Yugoslavia once more that there is no force that can break Yugoslavia and that every part within Yugoslavia's borders belongs to Yugoslavia alone, to its working class and nations and nationalities, and that there is no other way.

Abdulah Hodza noted that the Socialist Alliance, as a front of organized socialist forces headed by the LC, has been waging an intensified struggle against the counterrevolutionary forces and that significant results have been achieved in this struggle. The political and security situation in the province is increasingly stable. International trust has been greatly restored, while coolness in intranational relations is being overcome with growing success. At the same time, he drew attention to the fact that there is still evidence of the hostile activity of forces acting from positions of great-Albanian nationalism, and irredentism who have not abandoned their strategic goals.

This hostile activity is encouraged and supported by the Albanian leadership's open territorial claims to Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia.

Even more resolute action against the counterrevolutionary forces is therefore needed in every sphere -- the branches and local organizations of the Socialist Alliance, local communities, work collectives, and other organizations and communities. Ideopolitical differentiation should constantly be carried out in this struggle, in the struggle for socialism and self-management, brotherhood and unity, national equality, and the common Yugoslav identity.

The president of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Committee called for the even more consistent activity and involvement of the Socialist Alliance in the struggle to halt the exodus of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and for the return to Kosovo of those who wished to do so, as well as for higher production and complete implementation of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization.

In connection with the celebration of the two anniversaries, a special exhibition was opened in the hall of the Kosovo Assembly. The exhibition depicts, in words and photographs, the development and work of the National Front and the AFZ and later the SAWP in the province.

In the working part of the session, delegates of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference discussed the preparations made so far for the spring sowing. In addition to the stress laid on positive trends and preparations for spring sowing, attention was drawn to the shortage of hybrid seeds in all the area and particular emphasis was laid on the fact that prices or reproduction materials in agriculture are constantly rising. At the session it was decided to demand that those who have not carried out the preparations necessary to begin spring sowing should be called firmly to account.

Delegates of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference adopted a draft decision to confer charters and plaques of the Kosovo SAWP on meritorious individuals and work collectives for the work last year. These signs of recognition were awarded to 13 SAWP aktivists and eight organizations and collectives.

Sukrija Sends Telegram

LD112142 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0817 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Apr (TANJUG) -- Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has sent a telegram to the participants in the formal session of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference and the Conference for the Social Activity of Women of Kosovo. The telegram says among other things:

We are celebrating this significant anniversary of the nations and nationalities of Kosovo in the spirit and wihtin the framwork of the uniform observance of the 40th anniversary of the liberation and victory over fascism.

The rallying of the broadest progressive social strata and forces within the framework of the people's front on the eve of the World War II -- in particular in the course of the national liberation war and the revolution in Kosovo and in the entire country -- under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, was of exceptional significance for the successful development of our national liberation struggle, for the victory over the occupying forces and for the national and social emancipation of all our nations and nationalities.

In the postwar development of the Yugoslav social community, the people's front played a great role and, by rallying the broadest working and popular masses and through enriching its content and work method, the Socialist Alliance of the Working People is a powerful democratic front of all organized socialist self-managing forces of our society.

In the past 4 decades, on the foundations of new social relations, Kosovo, as a component part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and a constitutive element of the Yugoslav Federation, experienced a true economic, cultural, and social rebirth: Strong economic forces have emerged; industry has developed, as well as agriculture and other economic branches; a broad network of educational and upbringing, health, cultural, and scientific research institutions has been developed. All of this has played a great role in the national, cultural and general social emancipation of all nations and nationalities in Kosovo -- of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks, Romanies, and others.

In the present stage of our social development, when we are resolutely fighting to overcome economic difficulties, all Communists, working people, and citizens of Kosovo face responsible tasks to further develop the socialist self-managing relations; to develop and strengthen equality, brotherhood and unity of all nations and nationalities, and the federal order of our social community; and other achievements and values of the Yugoslav socialist revolution.

To develop further the equality of brotherhood and unity of all nations and nationalities in Kosovo, in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and in the whole of the country, to strengthen their mutual trust and implement the uniform goals of life together and build a happier future, it is necessary to wage a resolute struggle against Albanian and any other kind of nationalism and make maximum efforts to prevent, with every available means, the forced emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins as well as to ensure conditions for a return of Kosovo by all who want to.

## SERBIAN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON INFLATION, DEBT

AU110920 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Apr 85

[Excerpts] It cannot be said that the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program is being implemented, nor can it be said that it is not being implemented. The best that can be said is that it is being implemented slowly and partially, it was stressed at a session of the Serbian Assembly Executive Council. Djordje Vlajic provides details:

Production and exports are reviving in April, but prices and inflation are the most sensitive field of stabilization. The increase of 77 percent in March this year as compared with the same month last year is sufficient to show how big the blow to the cost of living was. The existing self-managing accords in the field of prices constitute a peculiar cartel-like quality which serves to protect the price increases.

In addition to demand, which in some sectors of the market is not calm, exports are discouraged by high prices. Our economy is one of the few in the world where both stocks and prices are increasing at the same time.

Inflation has some specific traits in our country. Every rise in the interest rates, every change of the dinar's rate of exchange, or any increase of costs is calculated into prices.

The connection between income and personal incomes is also breaking, for any increase in the cost of living is accompanied, as if by inertia, by a corresponding increase of personal incomes.

Nevertheless, the results achieved so far, although insufficient, provide evidence that activities against inflation are good. A realistic rate of exchange of the dinar, a real rate of interest, and an approach to real depreciation allowances are yielding results. Above all, the stabilized state of the foreign debt, which is not increasing, but is being repaid regularly, also helps. The circulation of money in the economy is also increasing, although at a minimal rate.

These and some other examples cited at the session of the Serbian Executive Council indicate that the worst mistake now would be to overlook them and consequently abandon the changes that have been initiated and that are envisaged in the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program.

## VOJVODINA LC CALLS FOR NATIONAL EQUALITY, UNITY

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[Text] Novi Sad, 4 Apr (TANJUG) -- The Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee imposes on all members, organizations, and organs of the Vojvodina LC the obligation to concentrate their activity until the 18th Vojvodina LC Conference and the 13th LCY Congress on the further development of brotherhood and unity, and equality and togetherness of all nations and nationalities. This is stated in the final version of the conclusions of the latest Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Plenum which was released to journalists today.

The conclusions stress that the condition to strengthen the material position of associated labor is full economic equality and that it is of crucial importance for Communists in every basic organization of associated labor, local community, and municipality, to be leading actors. In this way, all forms and attempts at decisionmaking on income which bypass the working class, working people, and institutions of our system, will be efficiently and uncompromisingly nipped in the bud. The powerful influence exerted on these processes by factors outside associated labor should be eliminated, particularly, the pressure exerted by technobureaucratic monopoly. It is the task of all LC organizations to immediately set in motion activity aimed at the broadest possible pooling of labor and resources in order to strengthen togetherness in the SR of Serbia as well as in the whole of Yugoslavia, in the spirit of the Constitution, the Law on Associated Labor, and the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program. In this context, tendencies of isolationism and autarchy as well as relations in which through nonself-managing actions and conduct, one-sided, group, and individual interests are politicized and imposed, must be resolutely overcome.

By proceeding from the constitutionally established position and responsibility of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, as a constitutive element of the Yugoslav Federation and a component part of the SR of Serbia, the activity by Communists, organizations, and organs of the Vojvodina LC in the consistent implementation of the full equality of the nations and nationalities, for the specific historical and joint interests of the working class and working people, for equality and free development of the republics and autonomous provinces, and for their greater unity in our federal socialist self-managing community, should be intensified through the ideological struggle as a whole and through action, the conclusions of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee say.

They add that consistent implementation of the constitutionally established relations in the Yugoslav Federation, the implementation of the position and responsibility of the republics and provinces on the basis of the Constitution, and on this basis, the development of unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia, represent the right and responsibility of all the working people, of all nations and nationalities.

The Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee points out in particular the significant obligations and tasks in promoting relations of national equality in education and upbringing, in cultural activities, in the development of science, and in the application of its results. Serious steps are called for to promote education in the language of the nations and nationalities, broader learning of the language of one's social environment, implementation of tasks on the equitable use of the languages and scripts, and fostering and studying the development of the languages and cultures of the nations and nationalities. The communists are the ones most responsible for the issues of a nation, history, tradition, and cultural achievements of our nations and nationalities being scientifically and Marxistically illustrated and interpreted in education and upbringing activities. The Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee draws attention to the fact that in this respect particularly significant tasks await the Communists at the University of Novi Sad.

It is the obligation of Communists on editorial boards and in publishing enterprises as well as in program councils to set in motion activity aimed at intensifying responsibility for the public word, to oppose all instances of sowing mistrust and confusion in our system and our social relations, as well as desperadoes and pseudocriticism. It is particularly important to intensify responsibility and contribute to the struggle against the penetration of nationalism into various texts in public media, in information and publicist activity, and in society as a whole.

There is also insistence, among other things, on decisive, organized, and uniform waging of the ideological and political struggle against nationalism, national exclusivity, and narrow-mindedness, and against any kind of abuse of national sentiments. Any kind of opportunism in this struggle represents an expression of variance with the LCY program orientations and therefore, one must part ways with such Communists resolutely and without hesitation. In all environments there must be resolute action against various phenomena of clericonationalism and enemy activity by the reactionary section of the church hierarchy.